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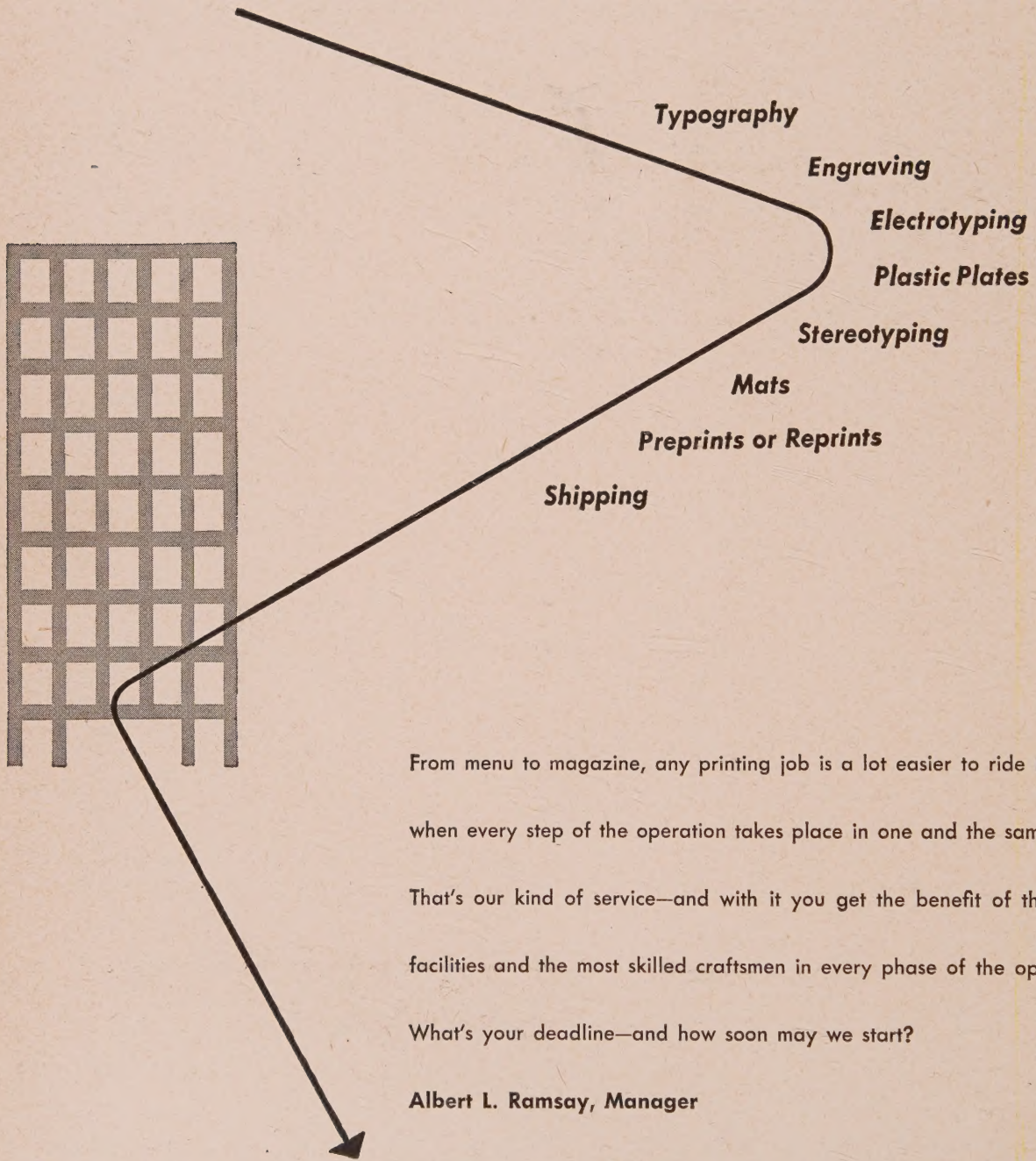


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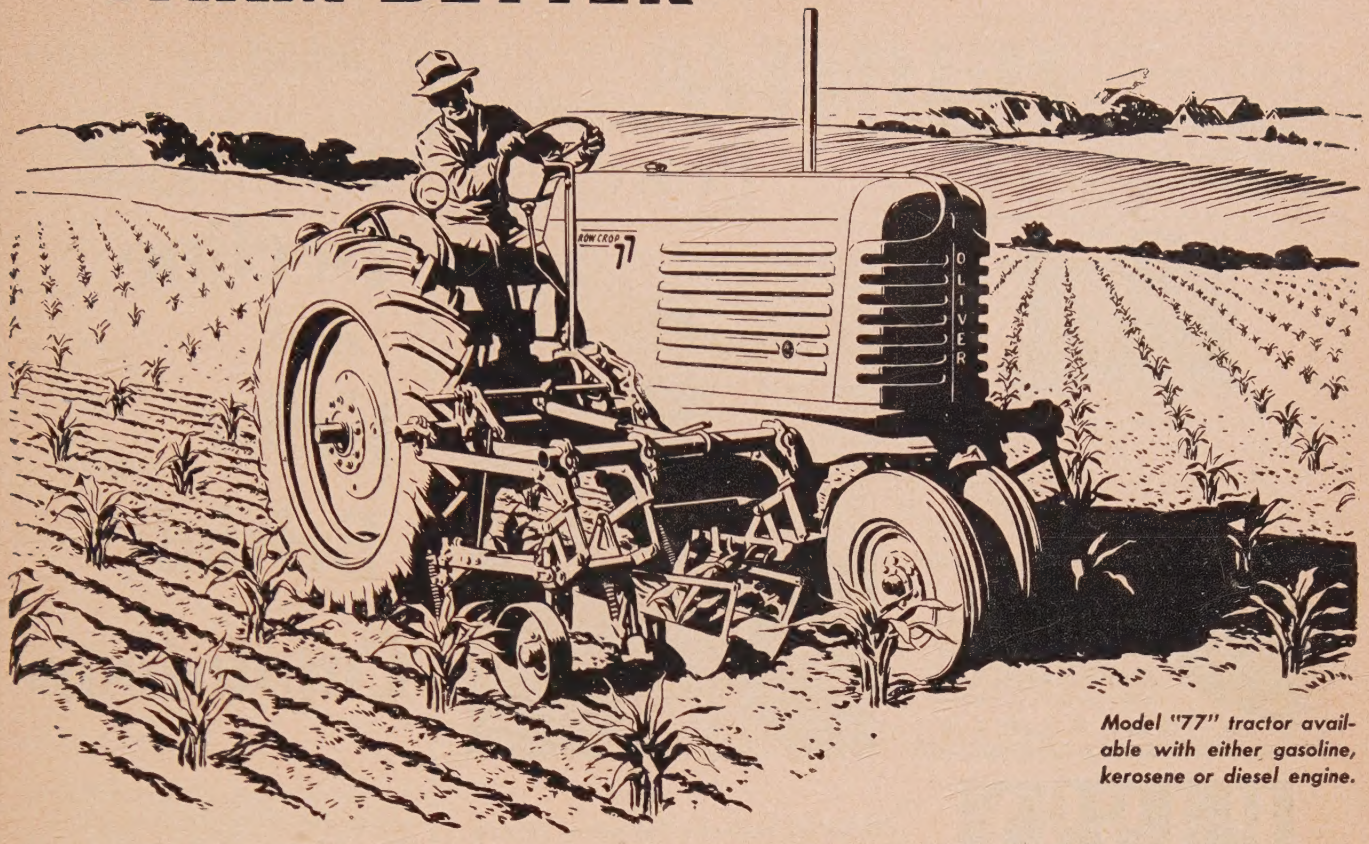


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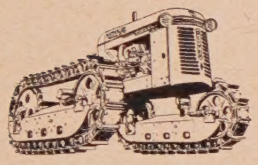

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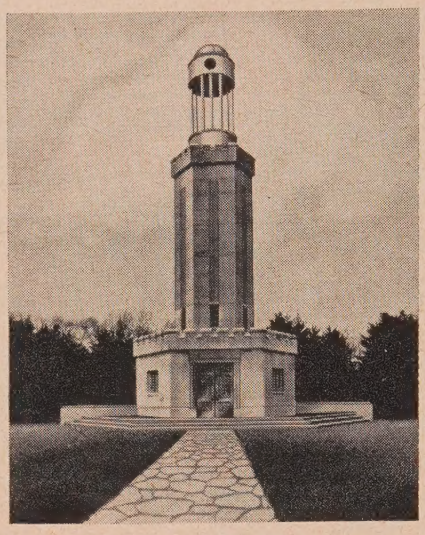

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*Contents, June 1950, Vol. 4, No. 6*

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# Lie Emerging As World Diplomat No. 1

*Washington, Paris, London Assess*

*Confidential Lie Report on Chances to End Cold War*

THE Secretary General of the United Nations, Trygve Lie, during the last few weeks has achieved a very great personal political triumph. He has emerged from his negotiations with the top leaders of the Big Four in Washington, Moscow, Paris and London as the sole living intermediary between the two hostile worlds.

At the height of the cold war, and at a moment when the United Nations was seriously affected by the almost warlike hostility between East and West, and by the Soviet walk-out from the UN, Trygve Lie was taking great risks in embarking upon his one-man crusade.

Many diplomats were uncertain whether he would even get a hearing from the top leaders of the Big Four governments, and there were particular misgivings about his chances of being received in Moscow by Marshal Stalin.

Lie succeeded by perseverance, unbounded faith in the UN and native political talent in getting Messrs. Harry S. Truman, Joseph Stalin, Clement Attlee and Georges Bidault and their foreign ministers to listen to his carefully worded proposals concerning a renewal of international cooperation within the framework of the UN.

### *Eastern Newsapermen Treat Lie Badly*

**Mr. Lie's trip to Moscow got off to a bad start in Prague, when irresponsible local communist newspapermen treated the highest official of the UN with an amazing lack of courtesy. The Eastern European correspondents assembled in Prague had apparently no inkling that Mr. Lie would be received well, and at great length, by the highest officials of the Soviet Union. They still remembered that Soviet, Czech and Polish official communist papers had severely criticized the Secretary General and called him a "speaking trumpet and propagandist" of the Anglo-American majority, one who "casts aspersions upon democratic countries" and who "identifies himself with the Anglo-American bloc."**

**They thus felt free to laugh contemptuously at his remarks at the press conference.**

**Mr. Lie showed his courage during the course of that conference, tongue-lashing the assembled newspapermen—something they hadn't heard in their own country directly from a**

**non-Communist statesman for a long time.**

**As soon as Mr. Lie reached Moscow, it became evident from the courtesies extended to him by the Soviet authorities, that his mission was considered of the highest importance. It was agreed that all communiqués about his visit were to be released through the United Nations Information Office in Moscow, whose employees are bound by an oath of allegiance to the UN. Although the employees of the Moscow Information Office are all citizens of Soviet Republics, this method of handling the news about Lie gave considerable prestige to the office of Secretary General. (The Moscow Information Office of the UN, contrary to newspaper reports, is not hidden away. It is listed in the Moscow telephone book, with its address, which is Hohlovski Pereulok 15, and it has large signs with the UN insignia displayed outside.)**

**Mr. Lie suffered ear trouble and had a bad cold while in Moscow. At once two top-notch physicians of the Kremlin were hurriedly dispatched to his bedside and advised him to avoid flying wherever possible because of his ear condition. On all other occasions, the Secretary General of the UN was shown similarly high regard by the Soviet authorities.**

### *Stalin Prompt for Lie Appointment*

Mr. Lie's visit to Moscow went like clockwork, without a single hour lost. This in itself is quite remarkable in the Soviet capital, where endless delays are customary when it comes to seeing the highest officials. Particularly is this so in the case of Stalin, who is frequently at his Black Sea retreat in Sochi. On this occasion, he was exceptionally prompt in granting the appointment.

The discussion with Lie was Stalin's first contact with a non-Russian, non-communist statesman in the last 10 months. Since August 16, 1949, when Stalin received U.S. Ambassador Alan G. Kirk for a 40 minute interview, the top leader of the Soviet Union has had to rely entirely for his information about the world on what his subordinates tell him.

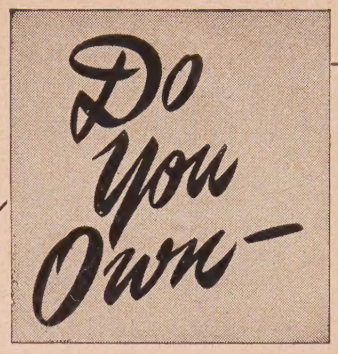
The conference with Lie lasted 90 minutes. The points to be discussed had been previously outlined in conversations with Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky, Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Arkady Sobolev, Chief of the USA desk in the Soviet Foreign Office. In diplomatic circles it was noted that all three men with whom Lie negotiated before seeing Stalin were persons with whom he was well acquainted. One of them, Arkady Sobolev, was a former associate, having served under Lie as Assistant Secretary General for Security Council Affairs. The Secretary General laid great stress on reviewing with these three men every detail of the suggestions he intended to submit to Stalin. Thus, he was able to surmise, by their reactions, what sort of reception he was likely to get from the Marshal.

During the Kremlin visit itself, there were present the three top men of the Soviet Union responsible for the handling of its foreign affairs: Joseph Stalin, Vyacheslav Molotov and Andrei Vishinsky.

The fact that after his visit with Stalin, Lie met again with Foreign Minister Vishinsky and Deputy Minister Andrei Gromyko indicates that a concrete procedure, to follow up the points mentioned in the discussion with Stalin, was agreed upon.

Lie talked as frankly with Stalin as he did with Truman, Attlee and Bidault. Those familiar with Lie's method of negotiation know that, while he is a good listener, he is extremely open in pressing his own viewpoint. Herein lies a consideration of extreme importance in the judgment of many top-level diplomats. It is that someone unafraid of the wrath of the Politburo was able to present to Stalin, not a rose-colored picture drawn by a Soviet sympathizer, but the realistic view of an independent observer, on the attitude of the rest of the world toward the policies pursued by the Soviet Union.

*(Continued on page 8)*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# State of the World *continued from p. 5*

Mr. Lie was every bit as emphatic and as intense with Stalin as he was with the Western leaders by underlining the dangers to world peace resulting from the present deadlock.

### *Western Leaders Meet Again with Lie*

**The significance attached to Mr. Lie's negotiations was evident on his return to Paris. There he was received not only by Prime Minister Georges Bidault and Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, but also by the President of the French Republic, Vincent Auriol, who, it is known in informed circles, does not despair of finding some sort of *modus vivendi* between East and West. In London, similarly, Mr. Lie had a very long and serious conversation with Prime Minister Attlee. Mr. Lie's talks with President Auriol of France and with Prime Minister Attlee were among the most fruitful of his whole journey. Mr. Lie's proposal for a Four-power conference within the framework of the Security Council, to decide on Chinese representation in the UN, was an indication that there had been slight openings in the Moscow negotiations for better international cooperation. This was borne out by Mr. Schuman's reference to "unhoped for improvement" in the situation. The French Foreign Minister declared that he expects periodic meetings of the Security Council, attended by the foreign ministers, as frequently requested by Mr. Lie, to begin soon.**

**Incidentally, Mr. Lie's health improved so much in Paris that he decided to disregard the advice of the Moscow physicians and to fly back to the US, because of the urgency of his return to Washington.**

**Mr. Lie brings back to the Western powers vital information concerning the attitude of the Soviet Government on some of the major international issues. The nature of his negotiations is so delicate that the Secretary General will not, for some time, make public the statements made to him by the various leaders.**

**However, Mr. Lie returns with the absolute conviction that there is a real chance to get the major protagonists to sit down together at the UN around a conference table, and bring about a gradual cooling off of the cold war. Much will depend upon the reaction of the Western powers to the Secretary General's full report on his negotiations with Stalin. If necessary, and when deemed advisable, he may make another trip to Moscow.**

**For the present, none of the measures being taken by either East or West against each other is going to be halted.**

**The Eastern European countries are pursuing their trend of isolating themselves more and more from the Western powers, by paring down embassy staffs and consulates. The West continues with the setting up of the gigantic Atlantic Pact machinery.**

### *Lie Unopposed as Secretary General*

Already Mr. Lie's success and his diplomatic ability have made such an overwhelming impression on many UN diplomats that we can reveal there is no doubt left that he will be reelected Secretary General. Despite the fact that he has declared repeatedly and emphatically that he is not a candidate—and he really is not—it is expected that he will continue to serve as Secretary General if drafted by an overwhelming majority, as close to unanimity as possible. For some time there had been rumors that the Latin American countries

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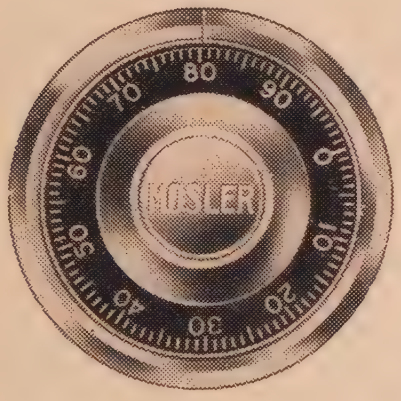


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SOW *continued from p. 8*

might back a candidate from their part of the world. After this great personal effort on behalf of world peace by Mr. Lie, and also because of the support he has always given the Latin American countries, consideration of any other candidate now is virtually eliminated.

The only difficulty that might arise would come from the Soviet Union, if she should prefer not to have the post of Secretary General filled for the time being, leaving a sort of headless Secretariat and the UN without authority. But his reception in Moscow would indicate that the Soviets also would be content to have Mr. Lie continue in his present function.

The leaders of the major Western countries, who have never doubted Mr. Lie's personal objectivity and have never taken seriously the absurd accusations that he was pro-Soviet brought against him by a few newspapers, are continuing to give him their full support.

As far as Mr. Lie himself is concerned, he is convinced that he is on the right road. He is determined to consider Article 99 of the UN Charter, which provides that "the Secretary General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security," as defining his most important function in the present world crisis. In doing so, he feels that he is also giving effect to one of the essential provisions contained in the first paragraph of the Charter, namely, that a principal purpose of the United Nations is "to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations."

### *Another UN WORLD "First"*

In the May issue, UN WORLD has added another first, in revealing that Mr. Lie was going to Moscow and that his trip to the capitals of the "big four" was not a mere routine trip but a bold attempt to end the cold war.

This latest "first" adds to a record-breaking series, in which we revealed:

1. France's possession of Atomic energy. (March 1947)
2. Moscow's troubles in the Balkans, particularly Tito's final break with Moscow. (March 1948)
3. The coming era of prosperity and stability instead of recession, as was generally feared. (December 1948)
4. A relaxation of the war jitters shortly before the lifting of the Berlin blockade. (May 1949)
5. Political upheavals in France two weeks before the fall of the Queuille Cabinet. (October 1949)

## Growing Achievements of the UN Agencies

### *WHO:*

THE Third World Health Assembly, meeting in Geneva, felt sharp repercussions of the Cold War. It was faced with withdrawal from WHO of seven Communist nations—Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, the Ukraine and the USSR—and also of Nationalist China.

Action of these countries removed hundreds of millions who need it most from the benefits of WHO's 1950 program for establishing public health services, combatting communicable diseases, and training technicians in the health field.

Partially balancing the loss, the Assembly approved membership of Cuba, Indonesia, and the Indochinese states of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, and an associate membership for Southern Rhodesia.

The Assembly adopted a resolution stating that absent members would be welcomed whenever they wished to resume participation. A special resolution, sponsored by Liberia, US and Iran, invited *China* to return. The Liberian delegate stressed that WHO is interested in people, not governments.

### *HUMAN RIGHTS:*

When the Economic and Social Council meets in July, it will have before it for consideration a draft Covenant on Human Rights. That this text of a world treaty on human rights may not make the Council happy is a foregone conclusion.

The reason is that the draft Covenant is in reality an amputated and diluted version of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which though lacking the force of international law, has exerted great moral influence. Mrs. Roosevelt, the Commission's Chairman, voiced majority opinion when she said that this is only a "first Covenant" and that other and stronger ones must follow.

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The difficulties of translating the ideals of the Declaration into the binding terms of a Covenant were three: 1) most of the social and economic rights had to be omitted to secure adherence of an effective number of signatory states; 2) even with these omissions, the remaining articles of the Declaration had to be hedged with limitations and restrictions if signatories were to be expected; 3) no stronger measures for implementation could be agreed upon than the setting up of a Human Rights Committee to sift the facts of alleged violations, reported to it by states.

The future of this draft Covenant is uncertain. The Economic and Social Council may revise it completely.

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**1941** The Nacional Financiera issued its first certificates in the amount of 8 million pesos. Also received a 30 million dollar credit from the Export-Import Bank, chiefly for the construction of roads.

**1942** Establishment of Altos Hornos de Mexico begins. At the end of 1942, Nacional Financiera has risen from 11th to 3rd place of all Mexican banks.

**1943** Six bond issues, totaling 105 million pesos. Projects established: Cobre de Mexico, Carbonifera Unida de Palau.

**1944** Resources climb to 326 million pesos. Bond issue reaches 220 millions. Many new industrial concerns created.

**1945** Allotted more than 72 million pesos to National Railroads, 70 millions to Petroleos Mexicanos, while developing new and established industries ranging from electric works to production of steel, cement, coal, sugar, etc.

**1946** Through this year and early into 1947, five important sugar concerns were set up, with a total investment of 70 million pesos.

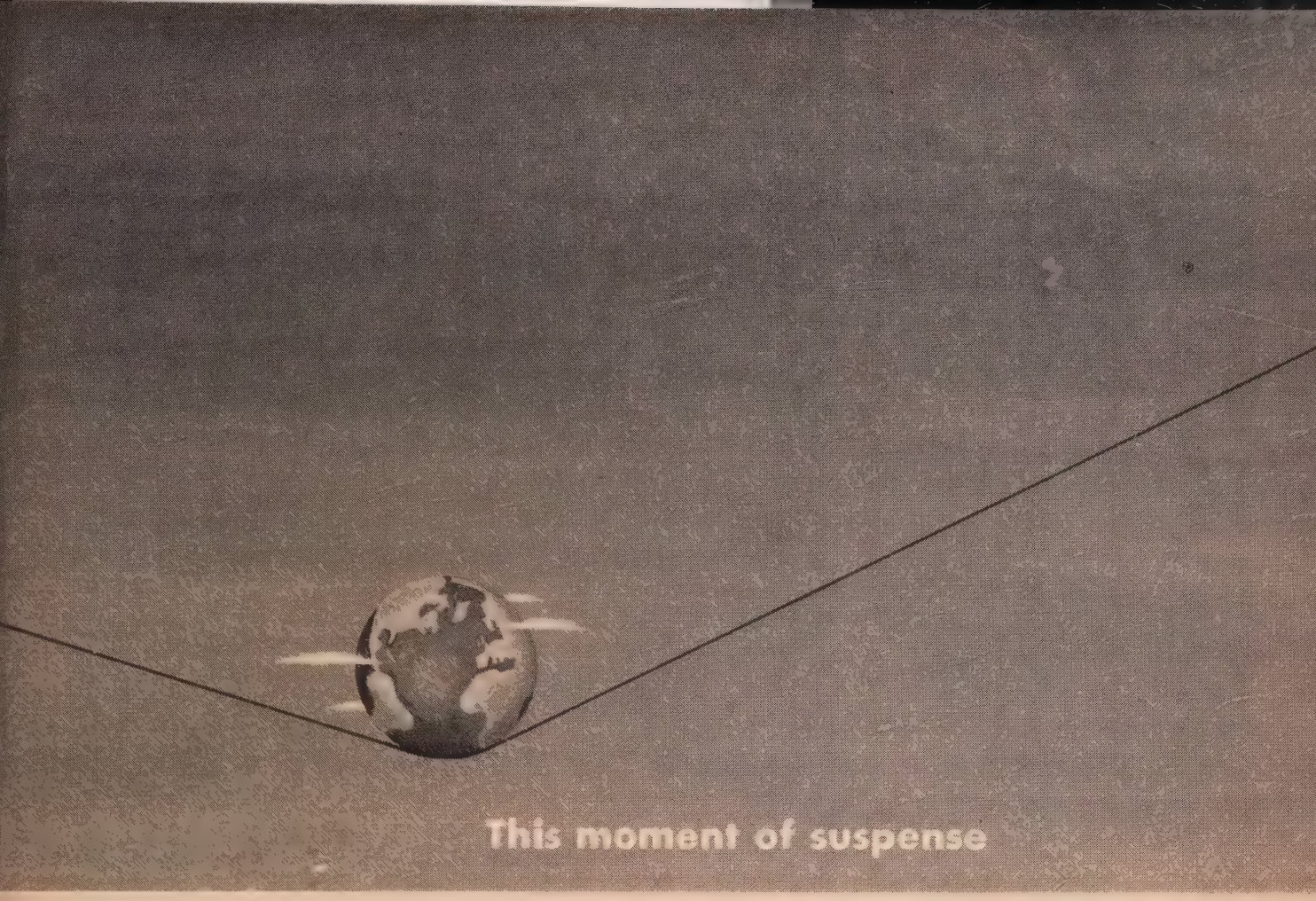
**1947** A third phase of development begins: coordination of functions with other private and governmental credit institutions. Capital rises from 20 to 100 million pesos, fully paid.

**1947-1948** Resources reach 1,052 million pesos. Credits granted from Dec. 1947 to Dec. 1948 amount to 1,562 millions.

**1948** By December Nacional Financiera had assisted 172 enterprises, whose production is continually growing.

**1949** In January a credit of $34,100,000 was obtained from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the development of electrification.

**1950** In April resources of Nacional Financiera total 1,200 million pesos.




**The Military** problem is covered by a group of German Generals from whom this magazine obtained an exclusive Memorandum on the Russian Military Power. During the war the authors of this document discovered the strengths and weaknesses of the Red Army in the intimacy of combat. Today they study the Russian military machine as expert on-the-spot observers.

**The Political** issue is dealt with by Harold S. Laski's "Program to Prevent World War III." It was inspired by Bertrand Russell's much-quoted article "Is a Third World War Inevitable?" (UNW March) and may be considered as the political testament of Mr. Laski, being the last article the intellectual leader of British Socialism wrote before his tragic death a short time ago. He sought to render the greatest possible service to mankind by analyzing the chances of peace between East and West in the light of his rare political insight.

***In the following pages UNW examines the Cold War's three major aspects from three exceptionally competent points of view***

**The Psychological** effect on the individual of the strains and stresses of a world doomed to extinction by the headlines seven days a week is analyzed by the humane pen of H. A. Overstreet, author of the best-selling "The Mature Mind." In this age of anxiety, nothing could be more helpful than Mr. Overstreet's suggestions for preserving harmony of mind and soul and achieving serenity in the shadows of the atomic nightmare and massive political upheavals.

# Memorandum On The Russian Military Power

By A GROUP OF GERMAN GENERALS

***This important document, result of a series of confidential conferences among top ranking German military figures, was submitted exclusively to UNW through Col. Kurt Conrad Arnade, former member of the German General Staff. The Editors are fully aware of the terrible record of the German generals. Their subservience to Adolf Hitler and their participation in Nazi Germany's crimes against mankind prohibit any great confidence in their political judgment. However, in view of their undisputed eminence as military thinkers, UNW presents the commentary of this group of former Wehrmacht commanders on a purely technical phase of the East-West struggle.***

RUSSIA is working day and night, Sunday as well as workday, on re-armament, using millions of war prisoners, slave laborers, men, women, and children. The destroyed industrial areas have been rebuilt. Countless new plants have been put into operation; new towns and cities have been created, all serving one purpose only: re-armament.

There is no lack of manpower. Russia has at its disposal the manpower reserves of half of Europe and half of Asia.

The material war losses have been recovered. Russia today is stronger than at any time in the past.

The basis of its re-armament program was and is today the tank. It was the tank that brought Russia its greatest and most decisive victories. Lately varying estimates have been published as to the strength of the Russian tank-force. It has repeatedly been estimated at 40,000. But that was the number of tanks Russia had in 1941 at the outbreak of war. This number may possibly correspond to Russia's *yearly production* but not to its overall strength. One should not repeat the mistake of under-estimating Russian armament capacity. This mistake proved the doom of Germany. One must reckon on over 100,000 first-class tanks. The plants in Stalingrad alone produced in 1942 5,500 T-34's.

The Air Force was Russia's weakest weapon in the last war, materially as well as in personnel. It would be wise to be prepared for surprises in this arm too. Russia today has a great many German specialists and skilled workers at its disposal. These have contributed successfully to the development of jet-planes. Russia is a past master at adapting and copying captured weapons and machines. It will have difficulty catching up with the western powers technically, but it will try to balance this inferiority by mass-production.

The immense losses in manpower of the last war will be noticeable for a long time. Yet in the last five years six to eight million new soldiers have grown up. In case of war, millions of Asiatics will presumably be at Russia's disposal. Russia will again

be able to pursue military aims regardless of human losses.

If it were not for the Air Force, Russia today would be invincible. Therefore, we come to the logical conclusion that the western powers must base their whole armament program on the Air Force. It alone will be able to strike decisive blows against Russia.

The importance of another weapon which during the last war was just at the beginning of its development, has been recognized by the Russians: the rocket.

During the war, their "Stalin organ" improved from month to month. On the northern front of Stalingrad, Russia introduced mortars of over 30 centimeters. During the spring of 1942, we encountered them only occasionally, but very soon this weapon, which can easily be produced appeared at the front in large quantities. It was fortunate for us that the Russian ammunition was at that time very inferior in comparison to ours. Today one may assume with certainty that this deficiency has been eliminated.

In short, the Russians have at their disposal first-class weapons of their own manufacture. The American supplies in armaments were hardly noticeable during the war. At the front, only the American trucks played an important part, but in the last few years Russia has expanded its production in this field too.

Russia has gained important additional strength through its East European satellites. Military missions are in charge of training, which conforms with Russian methods. Arms and equipment will be supplied by Russia.

In Germany's Eastern zone, preparations are being made for the establishment of a universal draft. Five zone-commands under the leadership of former German generals are being established according to the Russian pattern. Motorized divisions are being organized. This "Popular-Democratic Army" will have a strength of 400,000 men.

Generally one assumes that Russia is not yet ready, that it does not want war because it has nothing to gain from it. Therefore, the West has time. This is a very dangerous assumption. Certainly Russia is not yet ready. Neither will it be in ten or twenty years. Since the other countries are re-arming too, new weapons are being invented which will replace the older ones. Always something will be lacking. *A country is never completely ready.* The decision comes when a country believes that it has enough of a head-start.

What is in fact the military potential of the Soviet today?

### *30 Million Trained Soldiers*

Russia is convinced of its invincibility, of the absolute superiority of the Red Army over the armies of the capitalist world. All the people living under Russian rule are prepared ideologically and politically for war. Russia today has the strongest army in the world—about 170 infantry, 35 armored and 60 artillery divisions. The peacetime strength of the Red Army amounts to 4½ million men. The trained reserves are 25 million. It can therefore lead into battle 30 million men.

This Army consists of 6 army groups. The one most interesting for us is the Second Army Group (Center West) comprising the Baltics, White Russia, and the divisions stationed in the Eastern Zone of Germany. The Second Army Group is under the command of Marshall Rokossovsky. The Third Army Group (South West) in the Ukraine is probably under the leadership of the conqueror of Berlin and the liberator of Moscow, Marshal Zhukov.

Each Army Group consists as a rule of four armies, each army of 10 divisions.

The infantry is 60 to 70 per cent motorized, the artillery up to 80 per cent motorized. The cavalry has been relegated into the background and is used only for border patrol and reconnaissance.

The main force, as said before, is the tank. Here we have two types: the

GUARDS COLONEL SUKHAROV, LEADING USSR EXPERT ON TANK WARFARE

improved T-34 and the heavy "Stalin" tank, armed respectively with 12 and 14 centimeter cannon. Further, we have the middle-heavy and heavy mortars mounted respectively on the chassis of the T-34 and "Stalin" tanks. Such standardization enables the Russians to achieve tremendous output.

### *Russian Soldier: The Toughest*

The quality of the Russian soldier was demonstrated in the last war. He is frugal and extraordinarily tough. His superiority shows especially under adverse climatic conditions, in winter and especially at night, a kind of warfare not mastered equally by the soldiers of the western powers.

The Russian offensives primarily succeeded because of the ground forces and the superior Russian tanks. One should not forget, on the other hand, that after Stalingrad all Russian attacks were carried by superior forces against inferior German groups and unfavorable defensive positions. Nonetheless it seems that the new spirit of the offense has been successfully indoctrinated in officers and men.

The Soviet Union is self-sufficient as far as all resources for war are concerned, with the exception of uranium. Without doubt, the feverish search for uranium in this vast empire will sooner or later be successful.

One must assume that the Soviet military leadership has drawn up its operation plans in the offensive spirit, though Russia is in position to wage a long defensive war as well as a dynamic offensive war.

On the other hand, we must consider the United States potential. In the first World War its army started with scant experience and inadequate armaments but in the end decided the outcome of the war. In the second war it presented an entirely different picture. This time a superbly armed, trained and officered army started on equal terms with the best armies of Europe. Especially improved was the cooperation of infantry with tanks and artillery. Air support was truly impressive. However, the US Army lacks the battle experience required for a war with a fresh and well-led mass army of the kind Russia will put into the field. The chief hope of the American army lies in advanced technical weapons, especially in the air. It has the additional advantage of having leaders who have the loyalty and respect of the people.

The British soldier is tough and determined. But one must assume that Great Britain will put only small forces on the European continent.

France proved in the second World War a surprisingly weak opponent. It had very little opportunity to gain battle experience. Since the Communist Party may play a decisive part in the event of war, France is in an unenviable position. Between France and Russia lies a military vacuum. One must assume that France will not be able to withstand a Russian onslaught.

In conclusion, we may draw up the following balance:

Russia today is the strongest land power. In case of war, it will be able to mobilize more men than all its opponents combined. Its Air Force at the present is still inferior and the same is true to a much larger degree of its Navy. But one must be prepared for the appearance of submarines in enormous quantities, which will not be technically inferior to those of the western powers.

### *Europe Conquered in Ten Days*

In view of the present one-sided distribution of armed strength, the question uppermost in military minds is this.

If the cold war should suddenly degenerate into a shooting war, how would the campaign for Europe shape up, and what are the chances that the West could hold its own?

The answer is brutally simple.

If the Red Army attacked *today*, it would doubtless be able to overrun Europe with tens of thousands of tanks in a few days. By the first or second day, it would reach its first goals—the ports on the North Sea, the Ruhr Valley and the Rhine. From the lower Elbe to the Ruhr is only 200, and from Western Czechoslovakia to the Rhine less than 200 miles.

Tactically, this situation will develop in the following manner.

The few formations of the occupying forces in Western Germany will be bypassed or overrun. They are not in position to put up any notable resistance or delay the Russian advance to the Rhine. The first goals will be attained by the Russians even if Anglo-American air formations attack eight or ten hours after the Russian advance. They might delay the Russian offensive and inflict losses on the enemy, but they would not be able to stop him. Neither will the Rhine nor the Maginot Line stop the Russian advance. The experiences of the last war have shown that rivers are no longer obstacles for a modern army. The advance through Germany would be so rapid that the population would have no chance to escape in masses toward the west or south. On the other hand, France will witness in these two days a mass exodus toward the west and south which will again hamper the deployment of the French armies. If one remembers the May and June days of 1940, one can easily picture the scene. Under such circumstances, the French Communists will not have much difficulty in executing their assigned sabotage to the fullest satisfaction of their leaders in France and Russia.

For how long then will it be possible to defend France? The answer will depend upon the preparedness of the western powers at the moment when the Russians appear at the Rhine. If the advance takes the West by surprise, France will be overrun in a few days. If it is possible to mobilize in time, Russia will probably need twice as long. The Maginot Line will be as trifling an obstacle for the Russians as it was for us in 1940.

The first real obstacle is the Pyrennees. Here the Russian advance can be stopped. This barrier cannot be overrun immediately, since there will have been time to man the prepared positions. Only Spain and Eng-

land can be defended until the counter-mobilization is concluded.

It must be pointed out here that an initial Russian success would mean the end of Europe. No one who knows the Russians can have any illusions about what will ensue if Russia becomes the master of Europe. One need only remember the Russian invasion of Germany. Hundreds of thousands of men were immediately deported to the East, into slave labor, or into concentration camps. Any consideration for world opinion which Russia still observes, will be discarded in the event of war. Ultimate liberation will be of no value. It will come too late. If Russia wins the first round of the war and reaches its Atlantic goals, it will be largely meaningless for Europe whether or not Russia loses the second round. It would be worthless to reconquer Europe once more.

To avoid this tragedy, the strategy of the West must be devised with a view to keeping Western Europe from being overrun by the initial attack of the Red Army.

The choice of the Rhine as a defense line would mean sacrificing Germany. Germany is itself defenseless. The responsibility for its defense lies with the Western Powers. The German people, knowing the Russians and fully aware of what they have to expect, put their trust only in the West. If the Western Powers abandon Germany, millions of German men will join the Red Army to fight against the West, men who will feel they have been sacrificed and betrayed by the West and have nothing more to lose.

Advancing a thin defense line to the Elbe would not solve the problem or make it too difficult for the Russians to overrun Western Germany.

One cannot assume that formations of the Western Powers would obstinately defend a line several hundred miles east of their own fortified borders. Confronted by superior Russian forces, they will look back and ask themselves why they should die on German soil. Therefore, the German Government's anxiety when asking for military security is fully understandable.

*The Eastern borders of Germany can only be defended with hope of success if they are occupied as a defensive zone by strong military formations and if those positions can be manned in a few hours.* Furthermore, it must be made certain that strong units of the Western Air Forces can enter the battle immediately.

### *Musts of Western Defense*

Combined operations of the land-sea-and-air forces must be planned and coordinated. Equally important is the establishment of a clear-cut chain of command. The organization and training of formations in the framework of a Western European army is a self-evident prerequisite. Only rapid and coordinated intervention by strong forces at a decisive point can secure a defensive victory.

The cold war can become hot between today and tomorrow, if there is the will to wage a real war. Whoever looks for a pretext will find it. The defense of Europe will then have to be organized on the continent with support by sea and air.

The center of the defense must be shifted as far as possible to the East in order to preserve operational freedom, and to prevent the Russians from conquering another 40 to 60 million men and women as slave laborers or soldiers. The part that Germany is supposed to play must be decided by the Western Powers. Even if Germany wanted to, it could not now contribute to its own defense. If the West wants Germany, it is high time to revise high policy.

One may argue that technical progress, especially in the sphere of atomic energy, has created a completely new concept of war. This is partially true. Strategy and military tactics depend on changes in the technical and scientific fields. Unchanged, however, is the human being who must fight the battles and unchanged are the laws of space and time. Unchanged is the need to hold and secure conquered territory by land armies. Therefore, World War II remains the most important lesson for the war of the future.

The question whether a future war can be avoided cannot be answered with certainty. But it is certain that today only a policy based on force can preserve the peace.

### Peace-Time Armed Forces

| | ARMY | NAVY | AIR | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| US (as of June 30, '49) | 658,694 | 419,347 | 414,110 | 1,492,151 |
| UK (as of Apr. 1, 1950) | 376,400 | 140,000 | 202,400 | 718,800 |
| FRANCE (Feb., '50) | 578,000 | 50,000 | 40,000 | 668,000 |
| USSR (Estimated for 1950) | | | | 4,500,000 |

### National Defense Budgets

| | |
|---|---|
| US (1950) | $14,294,252,300 |
| UK (1950) | 2,002,000,000 |
| FRANCE (1949) | 1,108,571,420 |
| USSR (1950) | 14,905,660,380 |

# A Program To Prevent World War III

By HAROLD LASKI

Soviet Russia is difficult, brutal, conscious of its immense power, frequently dishonest, and yet afraid of its opponents, and especially of America. The lives of most of its rulers are set in the perspective of a conviction that the capitalist Powers of the world, especially when they were strong, hoped to break Soviet Russia. Fear and suspicion of the West and of Japan were the natural outcome of the way in which the Bolshevik Revolution was treated from the outset of its victory.

This fear and this suspicion were deepened in Soviet Russia by the experience of the inter-war years. Treated like a pariah, Soviet Russia was entitled to infer from the foreign policy of Great Britain and France after 1933 that their main anxiety was to turn Hitler's ambition eastward, so that it might be satiated in the destruction of Russia.

When Hitler attacked Russia in June 1941, there followed a period of better relations, intensified after the entrance of America into the war in December 1941. This was the period in which there was a chance to lay the foundations of genuine and enduring friendship. Great assistance was given to Russia by the Western Powers, though never decisive assistance. Though their heroism was loudly praised, we now know that while Mr. Churchill sent a sword of honor to Stalingrad in memory of the great victory there, he was deeply preoccupied with the means of preventing any extension of what he called "Russian barbarism" into Europe. He represented that combination of hatred for the Russian socialist experiment with admiration for the heroism of its armies which was not only widespread, but one of the major reasons why a common cause in war could not become a common cause in peace. Without that common cause the danger was obvious, and emerged clearly at Yalta, that the defeat of Nazism would release deep hostilities between the old order, symbolized by Mr. Churchill, and a new order increasingly symbolized for some by Franklin Roosevelt, and for others by Stalin.

In perspective, it is now obvious that the last Big Three Conference at Potsdam merely widened the gap between West and East. But even at this stage, there was still real hope of cooperation. What broke that hope were: first, the sudden termination of lend lease by President Truman without notice; second, the failure of the Americans to give instant consideration to the Russian request for a long-term loan; third, the announcement by Mr. Truman that the US proposed to keep the monopoly of the 'know-how' in the atomic bomb, only modified under the urgent pressure of Messrs. Attlee and Mackenzie King; and fourth, the later offer of international ownership and control of atomic energy under an arrangement in which Russia, without a veto, would have been in a permanent minority. That Russia should refuse the American proposals seems to be quite natural. But Mr. Truman stands by his original proposals, even though he admitted that Russia was now able to manufacture atomic bombs from the late summer of 1949. He further announced, early in 1950, the intention of his government to attempt the manufacture of a weapon even more deadly than the early types of atomic bomb—the hydrogen bomb.

By the spring of 1950, Russo-American fear and suspicion had reached levels where neither could reason seriously with the other, and each was seeking to demonstrate to its own people and their allies that the 'cold war' was the preparation for a third World War in which the one would use every effort to extinguish the other.

No one must regard Russia as having anything like a stainless record in these years from 1945 to 50. Apart from the incredibly bad manners and fantastic secrecy of its gov-

ernment, both at home and abroad, and its continuous propaganda, written and spoken, against its former allies, it was evasively dishonest about the evacuation of Iran. It has been the patron of forcibly imposed *coups d'état* by its satellite and minority Communist parties in Rumania, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, all of which have virtually become police-states, tied in large part to the Russian economy, and acting as a system of fortresses to cushion Russian territory from Western attack. The creation of the Cominform was the virtual revival of the Comintern at its ugliest and most indefensible. Trials like those of Rajk in Hungary, of Padev and Kostov in Bulgaria, are only major examples of a policy which permits no sort of independence to the governments in the Russian orbit.

In Germany the defects of occupation in the West have been at least equalled by defects of Russian occupation in the East, and it is impossible not to describe the action which led to the air-lift as consciously playing with the dangers of war.

But if, indirectly, Russian pressure on Communist parties in France, Italy and Greece has given a grave political complexion to economic disturbance there, it ought to be said that the economic disturbance is largely the outcome of the corruption and greed which their ruling classes have added to the ineptitude of their governments. This is true, also, of the Far East, as in French Indochina, Burma, China itself, Korea and Indonesia.

### *Sins of East, Sins of West*

Russian pressure here to secure revolution has been no uglier than the pressure of the Americans, the French, and the Dutch to preserve outmoded regimes mostly for their own obvious advantage. All of this, the inevitable accompaniment of any 'cold war' has, by now, been so propagandized by the Western Powers as Russian imperialism, or Communist expansionism, that Western political leaders have mainly come to believe in the reality of a conception they themselves have created. They have failed to see that what looks to them like the aggressive consequences of Communist ideology looks to Moscow like the necessary safeguarding of the war against Russia which capitalist ideology compels the Western Powers to attempt under American leadership. Since both sides are trembling with fear, each helps to intensify the blindness which prevents them from seeing beyond the immediate environment of darkness.

### *Causes of Russian Hostility*

Russia can make a strong case against the Western Powers. Under the leadership of the United States, they have been gradually forming, especially since 1946, what looks like an anti-Russian bloc. It is entitled to look with suspicion on the growth of a Western Germany where the old and evil economic and political patterns are being rebuilt. Western Germany is accepted by the Atlantic Powers; and since, so long as they are demilitarized, the Germans cannot fight for what they believe to be their rights, they are ready to profit from the division of West and East, and this they can only do by helping in the defeat of Russia in a third World War.

Nor do the Russians accept the view that Marshall Aid was a magnanimous effort on the part of the United States to assist in European recovery. They insist, first, that, given the dollar shortage, it was the only way in which American exports could be maintained and an economic crisis in the United States averted. They argue, second, that acceptance of Marshall Aid has meant dependence upon American economic power. They have emphasized, further, the degree to which the master-agreement on Marshall Aid prevents the revival of East-West European trade by its prohibition against the export of strategic materials to Russia and its allied powers.

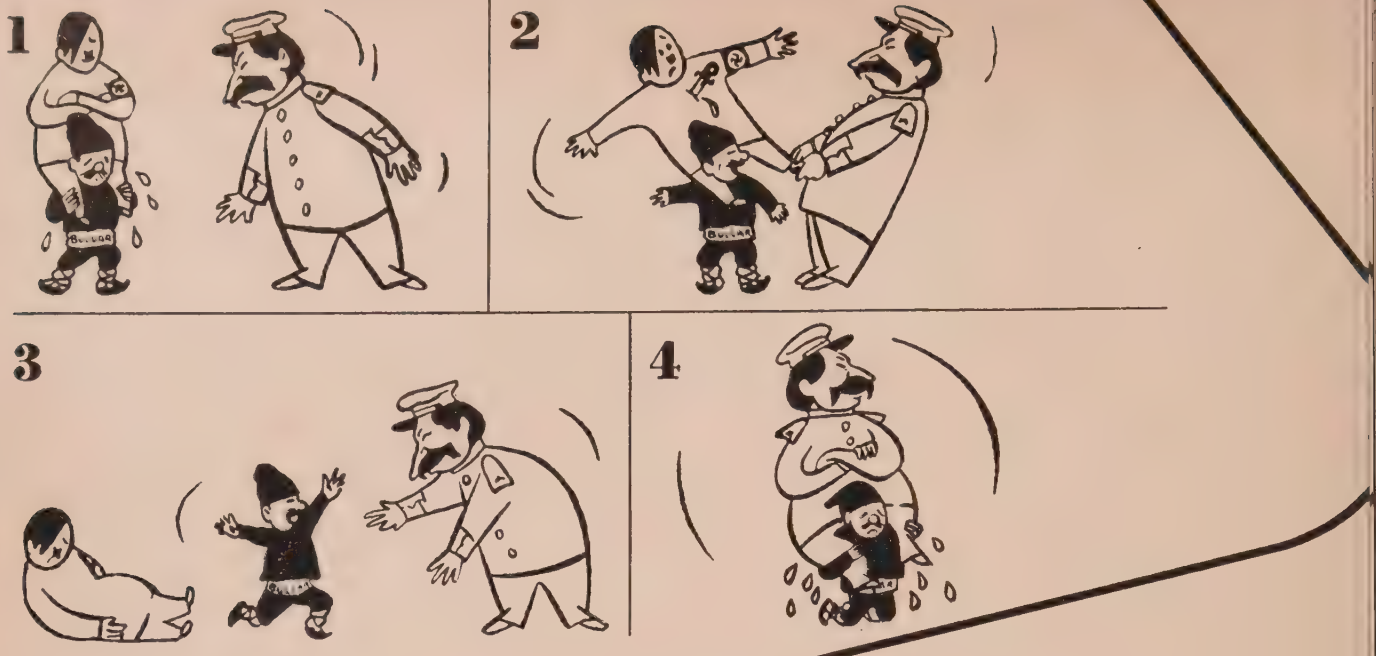
The Russians then link this view to their conception of the aims of American strategy. America now has vital air bases all over the world—in Great Britain and in Spain, as well as in Iceland and a number of Pacific Islands in Southeast Asia. Though it has no troops in the Middle East, its vital interests there are safeguarded by the considerable forces maintained by Great Britain, as well as by the dependence of the Arab States on Anglo-American support.

In the North Atlantic Security Pact, all the important Atlantic Powers, except Sweden and Spain, have agreed to act as a unit against aggression, and are being supplied with arms to an amount of over one billion dollars by the American Government, which agrees to come to their aid once an act of aggression takes place. It has become clear to the Russians that this is part of an American strategy intended to unify the anti-Communist forces of the West against them; and they read it in the light of the millions spent to prevent the victory of Chinese Communism, the support given to the puppet regime set up by France in Indochina, and the help upon which the fascist regime in Korea relies. They note with alarm, moreover, the rearming of Turkey by America, and the assistance to Iran in military reorganization.

The Russian Government thus reaches the general conclusion that the policy of Marshall Plan Aid is the obverse side of the Truman doctrine, the burden of whose purpose is to compel Russia to capitulate to the West, or to mount a crusade against it—in Mr. Churchill's words, "to bring matters to a head." I know no more foolish way of approaching the whole problem.

### *Last Hope: British Mediation*

Since internal American politics make it now so extremely difficult for President Truman or Secretary of State Acheson to make a new effort at a *modus vivendi* with Russia, I think the British Government ought to take the initiative. In my own view, everything is to be gained by its doing so. If it succeeds, so much the better; if it fails, at least it will have made known its will to peace in a way that can be made unmistakable. In my submission, it is imperative to make the effort through




RUSSIAN imperialism is scored in a cartoon which appeared in the Turkish magazine *Mizrah*. Marshal Stalin liberates Bulgaria from Hitler, but only to climb on the back of the victim.



# Prevent World War III *continued*

the United Nations. I think it lamentable that vital discussion should sidestep the organization intended for vital discussion. I think the British Government should start from the hypothesis: first, that Russia really wants peace; second, that disarmament, and especially the prohibition of the use of weapons of mass-destruction, is imperative; third, that a scheme based on Mr. Truman's Point Four, in the application of which Soviet Russia has its full share, should be given actuality; and fourth, that we all agree to end the anti-Communist witch-hunt, in return for a lifting of the iron curtain. It is, as I see it, as urgent to make it clear that we seek a genuine accommodation, as it is to insist that if this is unattainable, we in the West are fully prepared to go on preparing.

Concretely, therefore, I should like to see the British Government propose that a special meeting of the Assembly be convoked this autumn at Moscow, and that new proposals be laid by the leader of the British delegation before the Assembly, involving these points:

**(1) A revision** of the Acheson Lilienthal plan on atomic energy which shall include agreement to manufacture no further type of atomic weapon, or other weapons of mass-destruction, the disposal of all existing bombs on universal agreement to unlimited right of inspection by the UN Atomic Energy Commission, and consideration of plans for universal large-scale disarmament.

**(2) Consideration** of plans to give substance to Mr. Truman's Point Four. They should include proposals for economic and administrative aid (through the agency of UN) to China, India, Korea, and the Middle East.

**(3) Withdrawal** of recognition of, or aid for, Chiang Kai-shek, Bao Dai, and agreement to temporary international regime over French Indochina, until a properly elected government emerges there. The use of UN advisers for the first five years of any new regime thus created.

**(4) A joint declaration** that the present propaganda war of nerves, whether by press, wireless, film, or other means, be called off.

**(5) An offer** when, and if, a general scheme of disarmament emerges and if Russia demobilizes, to dissolve the North Atlantic Security Pact.

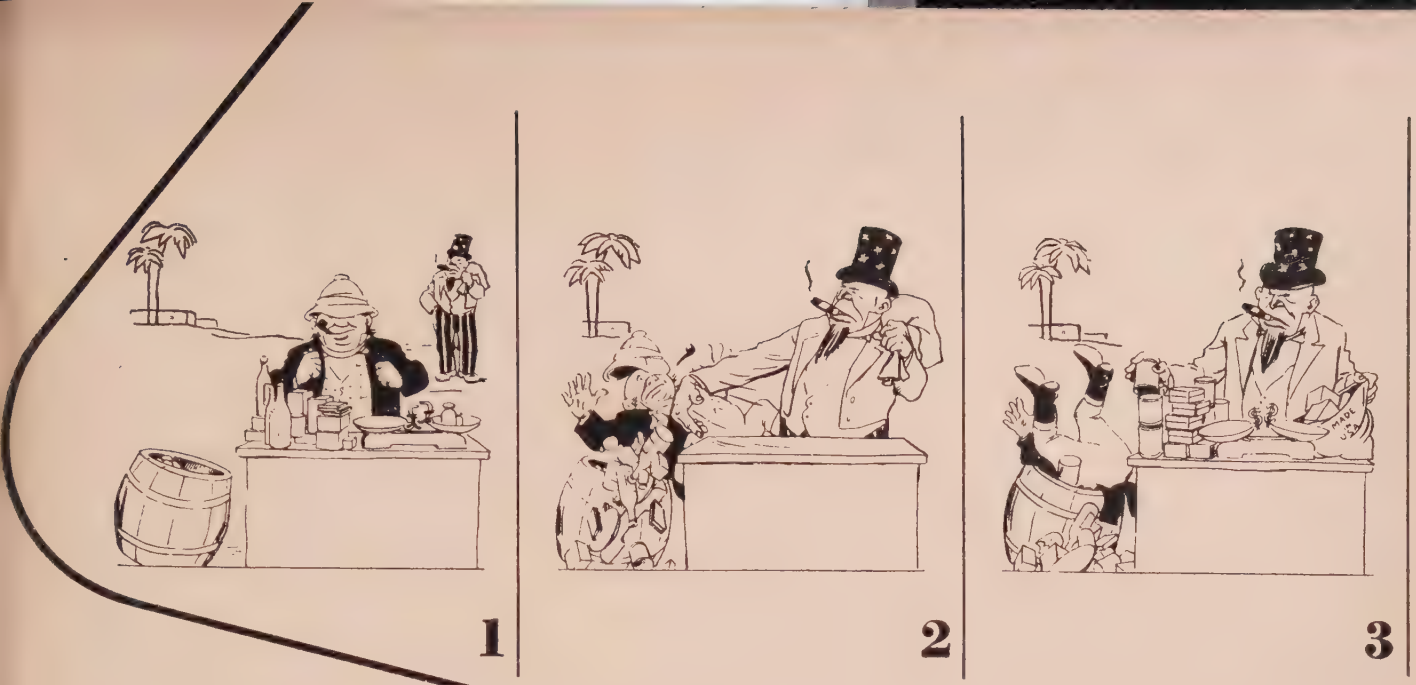
**(6) The resumption** of full-scale commercial relations between East and West.

**(7) The withdrawal** of all occupying armies from a Germany unified again upon new agreed boundaries. The rearmament of Germany to be prohibited without limit of time, and a UN Commission to take the necessary measures.

**(8) An agreement** upon reparations along the lines of the Yalta protocol. All reparations payments to be completed before 1952.

**(9) The immediate conclusion** of an Austrian Treaty, with Russia withdrawing her claim upon the so-called "Nazi assets" there.

**(10) A guarantee** of freedom of movement among citizens belonging




## *IN THE BATTLE OF WITS*

**AMERICAN imperialism is depicted in a similar manner by *Crocodile*, the satirical weekly of Moscow. Uncle Sam kicks John Bull out of the exploiter's chair, then takes over the business.**

to member-nations of UN, and an agreement for the universal abolition of forced labor.

**(11) Withdrawal** of occupation forces from Japan, but continued denial of Japanese rearmament under supervision of a UN High Commission.

**(12) In all political trials,** UN observers to be guaranteed the right of attendance; any accused to be entitled to counsel immediately upon arrest; where those accused are foreigners, their arrest to be accompanied by immediate notification to the Ambassador or Minister of the member nation to which they belong, and, if tried, to have the right to counsel of their own choosing.

**(13) All member nations** of UN to agree to the emigration of their own citizens, if these so desire; and to put no barriers in the way of marriage between citizens of one member nation and citizens of another.

**(14) Member nations** to agree to concert measures (e.g. by refusing oil supplies) for bringing the Franco regime to an end.

**(15) Discussion** to be attempted, through normal diplomatic channels, with the obligation to report to the UN Assembly in 1951, on a possible amnesty for political prisoners held since 1945, and the discontinuance of all bodies of an official character (e.g. Un-American Activities Committee of the US Congress), which tend to give the appearance of reality to claims that a propaganda of hate is being governmentally encouraged.

This is the framework of the initiative I should like to see the British Government attempt. It is, at least, a refusal to accept Lord Russell's defeatism, and thus settle down to await the inevitable catastrophe. It would establish our own *bona fides* not merely with our own critics of British foreign policy; it would also establish criteria by which to test the *bona fides* of the US and the USSR. It asks for sacrifices from all the nations concerned; it offers the prospect, also, of benefit to all.

If Russia refused to discuss peace upon this basis, we should know with some precision just where we stood. If Russia accepted this basis, Lord Russell's assertion that he "does not believe in any genuine entente with the Kremlin" would rapidly be put to the test of empirical verification. I am well aware that there are risks in the action I propose. I know, at first hand, the dual morality which imposes a dual allegiance upon Communists all over the world. But the questions we have to ask ourselves are these: ought we to sit down and prepare for the conflict, knowing, as we do, that the cost of preparation prepares the very conditions the Communists desire, since it is purchased at the cost, on our side, of deteriorating welfare; or ought we to make a supreme effort to arrest the present drift to war, by seeking to mobilize, in Moscow itself, the forces of peace all over the world. Lord Russell builds his policy upon despair. I build my policy upon hope. It is only in a civilization where hope remains, that men retain the prospect of settling differences in terms of reason, instead of settling them by a war upon the immense proportions of whose evil Lord Russell and I would, no doubt, agree.

# How to Keep Cool in the Cold War

By H. A. OVERSTREET
*Author of "The Mature Mind."*

EVERYWHERE in the world strange signs point to the disturbed state of the human psyche. In our country we have the legend of the flying saucers. In Europe "miracles" occur with mounting frequency. Mystic religions find a growing number of followers. The dread of devastating war is uppermost in people's minds. Hysteria and witch hunt are prevalent in many countries.

The question is not only how to keep one's head, but how to preserve serenity and the taste of happiness. What can the individual do to avoid being caught in this maelstrom of irrationality? How can he go on living cheerfully and effectively?

As in all cases of emotional disturbance, the answer lies in finding out how we get to be this way.

The psychiatrists have made us familiar with the term "accident prone." Certain individuals, they have found, because of tensions in their emotional life, are constantly in danger of incurring accident—with a kitchen knife, an axe, an automobile, or what not. Other individuals are relatively free of this proneness. Because of a certain emotional stability, they go through the normal hazards of life without injury.

I would propose a similar term for what is happening in the world today. Certain individuals, I would say, are "panic prone." Given the least chance to fall for an ominous rumor, they fall for it; given the least chance to find a spy—under the bed or around the corner or over the neighbor's fence—they find him.

Other individuals, on the contrary, are happily "panic proof." Something in their make-up—a kind of healthy toughness—keeps them from falling to pieces at every slightest intimation of danger.

The panicky condition of so many people in this world today is unquestionably a sign of widespread psychological unsoundness. This unsoundness is not found in everyone. There are large numbers of people who do not fall for every scarehead rumor; who are not nervous about the loyalty of their neighbors; who are not thrown into conniption fits if the high school principal reads the *New Republic.*

Vulnerability to panic is found among people of a certain personality pattern. Psychiatrists are much concerned about this pattern, because, created by certain unfortunate life experiences, it turns the individual into an aggressor against his fellows.

What I am here referring to is the *hostility pattern of personality.* Many individuals have developed such a pattern. They may have suffered severe frustrations in childhood, caused, let us say, by a dominating parent or a fear-inspiring teacher; or, in later life, by dominating or fear-inspiring superiors, or by situations they cannot master. If these frustrations remain unresolved; if they go on rankling in the subconscious, they tend to develop in the frustrated individual a habit of seeing the world as enemy.

The poet Shelley tells us that "the eye sees what it brings to the seeing." The frustrated person brings his own hostility into his seeing of others. Being himself full of hostile feelings, he projects these feelings into them. Thus he sees himself surrounded by actual and potential foes. He cannot trust anyone. He watches for "signs."

What we are beginning to discover is that this hostility pattern of personality bulks surprisingly large in our culture—too large, in fact, for our national emotional health. Obviously there is much to encourage the growth of the hostility pattern among us. Ours is a culture in which successful "againstness" gets high rewards. The winning of success *against others,* rather than in association with others, is, among us, a highly regarded type of success. We believe that this effort-against-others is a good kind of effort to cultivate and that without it men grow lazy and unproductive.

But a culture where there is much "againstness"—against *people* rather than *problems*, or *difficult conditions of life*—is also a culture in which there is much fear. Not merely the defeated ones fear. Those who are successful tend to fear those who may bring them defeat. Success, in short, does not of necessity create in people serenity and generosity of spirit. In the words of F. Scott Fitzgerald; "The victor belongs to the spoils."

### *Life in a Hostile World*

Again, in our culture, groups confront one another in a spirit of againstness. For decades and generations, now, nations have, actively or in preparedness, been against other nations—wary of them, watching them for signs of belligerence, building up guards against them. This extreme hostility as between nations is dramatically illustrated by our proposed national budget figures. Our estimate calls for an expenditure for military preparedness of 300 millions a *week*, whereas the budget for federal aid to schools calls for 300 millions a *year*.

Hostility—belligerency—the feeling that enemies are all around us—has been and still is of the very essence of our culture.

Again, racial groups, religious groups, groups of employers and employed far too frequently face one another with hostility. There is little love lost between them.

All of us, therefore, live in an atmosphere supercharged with hostility. Why are not all of us, then, turned into hostile individuals who are prone to see enemies in every bush?

The answer, I think, is fairly simple. Each of us begins his life with two major possibilities ahead of him: to like and trust the people around him and to work cooperatively with them; or to dislike and distrust the people around him and to work with them reluctantly and with suspicion.

In the case of every one of us, everything depends upon whether the life conditions into which we are born and in which we live are such as to bring the one or the other of these two possibilities to realization.

Very often the conditions in the home are such that they bring out in the child his latent hatreds of people. Such a home is preparing the child to become an adult who will tend to see others as enemies. Often conditions in the school or shop or community bring out such latent hatreds and help to create adults who—especially at a time when everyone is anxious and perplexed—tend to express their anxiety in a "hostility" way. Instead of instinctively working for understanding and cooperation among men, they tend at once to see enemies and to join in the hue and cry.

Obviously the best guard against *panic proneness* is the development of the personality in the direction of liking and trusting people. This, in fact, is the sound way of human growth.

How such development can be achieved is, of course, a long story. Let me barely indicate the outlines of that story, for it has much to do with the curious phenomenon of social panic we are considering.

What follows may seem to have nothing to do with the conflicts that bulk large in the daily news. These seem to be exclusively political and economic. But these conflicts themselves are not born in a vacuum. They spring out of certain conditions of psychological unsoundness. They bulk large and dangerous because they grow lushly in a soil of psychological unhealth.

*In short, we live in a world made hostile by hostile minds.* Since this is so, one of our chief tasks is to discover how the individual in our society may be helped to grow up into a healthy pattern of non-hostility.

To be sure, these hostile minds, it might be said, have been made so by the hostility-breeding conditions of their environments. Obviously we are in a vicious circle; and the question is how we can break into it. Some break into it by attacking political unsoundnesses; others by attacking economic unsoundnesses. There is, however, this other way, of attacking the psychological unsoundnesses that prevail in our society. How, even in hostility-breeding environments, can we help the individual to grow up into a pattern of non-hostility?

Many of us think it can be done. Many of us think it is just about the most important thing to accomplish.

The following is part of the story of how it can be done.

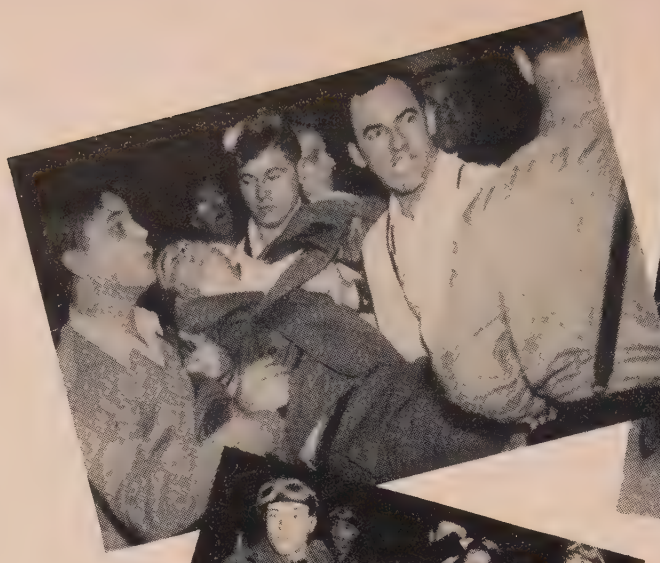
### *The Six Stages of Serenity*

Every individual must be helped early in life and throughout his life to establish a number of basic linkages. First of all, he must achieve "skill" linkages, so that he need not feel incompetent, embarrassed, insecure, and therefore hostile. He must reach the point in life where, through a trained and useful skill, he has a work that he cares about—a "beloved" work—one that he can carry on with a proud and unerring competence. This gives him a basis for confidence and for a generous rather than an anxious and antagonistic relation to his fellows.

Secondly, he needs linkages with


### The Author

**Harry Allen Overstreet was born in San Francisco in 1875, and educated at the Universities of California and Oxford. He is a noted leader in the Adult Education movement. Among his many books on philosophy and psychology, ABOUT OURSELVES, INFLUENCING HUMAN BEHAVIOR, and THE ENDURING QUEST, are particularly outstanding. Although his work has been in the realm of ideas, he has the rare faculty of being able to analyze theories in concrete terms, so that his readers may gain impetus toward more effective living. He is now working on THE MIND IN THE COMMUNITY.**



"THE FRUSTRATED person brings his own hostility into his seeing of others. Being himself full of hostile feelings, he projects these feelings into them. Thus he sees himself surrounded by actual and potential foes."

HOSTILE MINDS CREATE FEA

# How to Keep Cool in the Cold War *continued*

people—of friendship, appreciation, admiration, affection. He has, early in life, to be helped out of his infantile egocentricities—of thinking solely of himself—and brought into a warm relationship with his fellows.

In the third place, the individual, early in life and all through life, needs to take on responsibilities—and to like them. Taking on responsibilities is part of the business of being human. When we take them on happily and push them through with vigor, we learn to feel our deep involvement with our fellows. We "belong" to the human race; and, in belonging, we sense the respect of our fellows.

In the fourth place, the individual needs to learn to care about those less fortunate than himself. This means active sympathy not only for those plainly in sight—the small boy, for example, who has just been knocked down by a car—but for those not in sight. To develop a generous outreach of character, the individual needs to care greatly about a great many people whom he never sees and probably never will see. A warm feeling for those who are unfortunate goes far to prevent cold hatreds of the human race.

In the fifth place—and this is vastly important for our particular time of anxiety—the individual must learn how to put his mind constructively at work at the problems that afflict his fellows. The *panic prone* person does not try to work out the problems that afflict us all or to join with others in an effort to solve them. He is too sure that the whole trouble comes from enemies. In fact *he knows who the enemies are.* He gets his particular pride out of warning people. This gives him his great sense of significance. In fact, he would feel sorry if there were no enemies, for then he would sink into insignificance. At the present time, such fatalism of hostility is shown by the proposal of one newspaper of vast circulation that we withdraw from the United Nations.

The best antidote for this irrational state of mind is putting one's brains to work at constructive solutions of the problems that assail us. A mind occupied with thinking is not likely to be given over to hating and suspecting.

Finally, to achieve the soundness of non-hostility, an individual needs to see things—or to try to see them—*whole.* If he sees things only from his own point of view—national or racial or religious or economic or what not—he inevitably misunderstands the other person's point of view. Mis-

understanding the other, he gets suspicious. The other person takes on the proportions of an antagonist. He proceeds to oppose him—or better, to report on him. And so it goes. Wisdom lies in trying to see all sides; and particularly, to see what the other fellow is driving at. That way lies friendliness of mind. That way lies psychological health.

This, then, is the double picture we need to keep before us: on the one hand, the friendly mind that keeps itself generously related to others; on the other, the hostile mind that in one way or another bristles up against others; suspects them; denounces them; or gets others to suspect and denounce them.

In this time of our great anxiety, the friendly mind is characterized by one outstanding quality: it seeks rational solutions to problems. It says: "Come, let us reason together." The hostile mind, thrown into a panic of fears, sees only enemies. Its word is: "Come, let us fight one another."

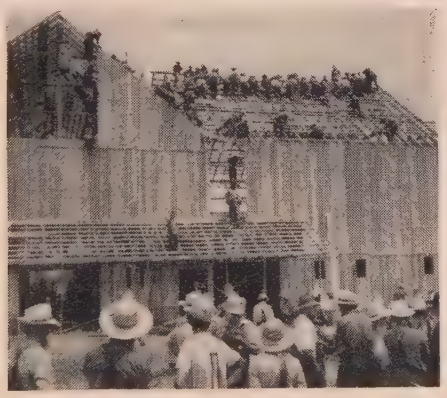
What is now happening among us, therefore, is psychologically understandable. The deep hostility that so widely prevails in our culture tends to "get" certain people. It quickly gets those who have not grown up into psychological soundness. These people are part of what Karen Horney calls "the neurotic personality of our time." It is they who start the rumors or fall for them; see portents; miraculous signs in the heavens; forebodings of evil. It is they who join the witch hunts. And it is they who, in a final hostility to man and all his works, retreat into the never-never land of escapist religion.

And the cure? For many people, of course, there is no cure. They are too firmly set in their life pattern of hostility. *They enjoy their hostile feelings.* They make distinction for themselves through the expression of their hostility. Instead of realizing their own psychological unsoundness, they believe others to be unsound.

The best wisdom we can gather today relates to ourselves and to those over whom we have some measure of influence. As to ourselves. In these vastly uncertain times, we need to strengthen all the basic linkages that keep us friendly with life and friendly with our workfellows. As to those over whom we have influence—particularly our children—we need to help them to achieve a basically hospitable attitude toward life and their fellows. It is along these lines that we build serenity and happiness in ourselves and others.

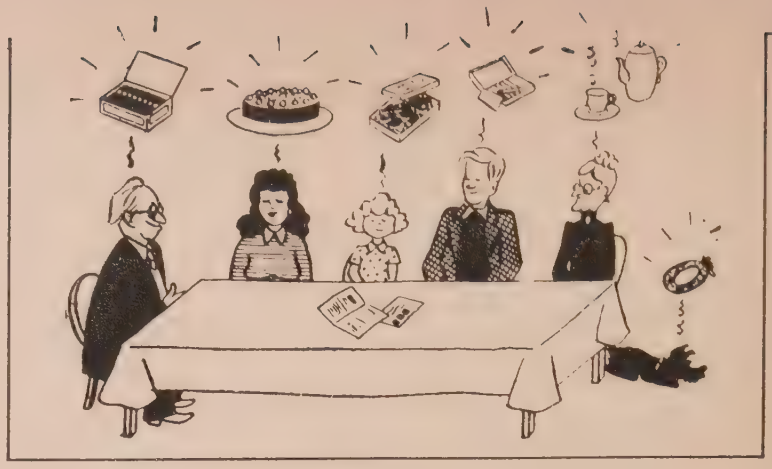
This does not mean that we must approve of everyone or of everything. A sound mind will disapprove of many an act and many a person. But it does mean that a *pervasive hostility* —a generalized feeling of not liking and trusting the human race—is a sign of mind sickness. We suffer too widely from that sickness today. We need to get well.

## FRIENDLY MINDS CREATE.



"THE FRIENDLY mind has work that he cares about, is brought into a warm relationship with others, takes on responsibilities, has active sympathies, thinks constructively and sees things whole."

By RICHARD HAUSER



The Letter from America
A food package has been promised

# Laughs in

To get a laugh today, a German nightclub comedian has only to step on the stage of, say, the Alkazar in Hamburg and ask, "Well, ladies and gentlemen, how are you getting on under our fine new democracy?" The Germans know that "democracy" is a laugh cue, as surely as Jack Benny's audience knows that his toupee is. The comedian doesn't disappoint them. "Basking in the sun of democracy," he continues, "is having a remarkable effect on us Germans. It's turning some of us *brown* again, and the rest of us *red*."

The cynicism with which the Germans regarded the de-Nazification program was neatly packaged in anecdotes like the following:

A young man walked into a courtroom, and boldly announced that he was a member of the Nazi Party. The judges were indignant. "Don't you know that it is a criminal offense to withhold such information?" asked one of them. "You should have put that down on your questionnaire years ago, at the beginning of the occupation."

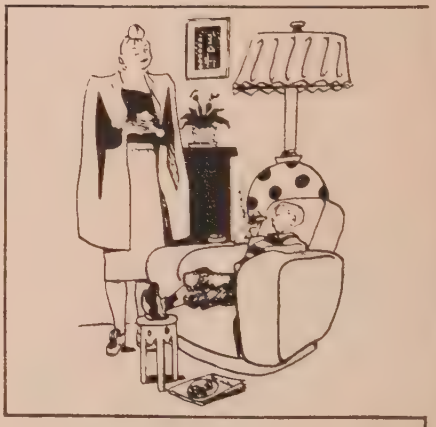
The young man was unperturbed. "How could I?" he asked. "I only joined yesterday."

The contrasting characters and methods of the four occupying powers supply the German jokesmiths with some of their most reliable raw material. They are fond of snickering at the national traits of their overlords in anecdotes like the one which circulated in Frankfort after a storm in which the city was battered by unusually large hailstones. The Russians, it seems, cried "Sabotage!" and immediately threw fifty people in jail. The Americans tried to organize a ball game. The English found it necessary to form a commission and draw up a working-paper on the matter. And the French commandeered the hailstones, wrapped them up and shipped them home.

A coarser variation on the same theme is the Berlin contention that the most accurate key to the national character of the occupiers is to be found in their relations with the German women—"The Russians rape 'em, the French seduce 'em, the Americans buy 'em, and the English marry 'em."

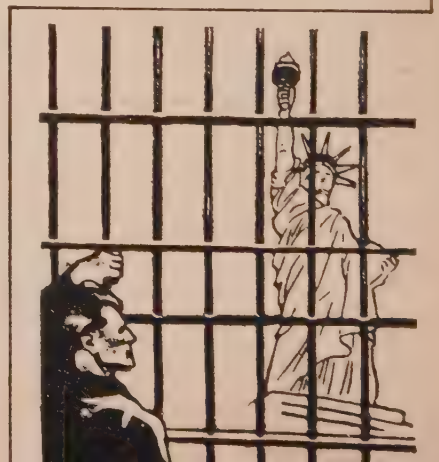
Of the four occupying powers, the Americans are treated the most indulgently by the German folk wits, in spite of occasional jabs like the newly-minted crack which goes, "What's an American, after all? Just a Russian with clean fingernails." More typical is the Nuremberg story of two depressed Germans slumped over their watery beer in a local *Bierstube*. "Those were the good old days, when Hitler was alive," one of them sighs. "The wonderful food, plenty of heat, the latest movies, easy work, nothing to worry about! Remember?" "I'll say I do," says the other with an answering sigh. "Tell me, Hans, do you think we'll ever get another chance to be prisoners of war in America?"

It is the Russians who take the most incessant drubbing from Germany's amateur gagmen, and who provide them with the widest scope for their talents. When the daily *Tagesspiegel* offered cash prizes for humorous drawings during the Berlin blockade, more than 800 entries were received, nearly all of them treating



"Jack, I'm giving you a watch for your birthday."
"Just give me a revolver, and I'll get a watch by myself."

Miss, I can't figure out who's behind bars, you or me.



"How did you get in here?"
"Nothing to it—ten cigarets!"

# Limbo

the blockade and the airlift in such a way as to give the Soviet Military Administration its lumps. One of the favorites showed a bear (the municipal symbol of Berlin) confined in a cage guarded by a Russian attendant. A sign on the cage read: "Warning: Do not feed the bear, or the attendant will bite!" One entry was received from the Soviet Zone. This was a gloomy self-portrait of the anonymous artist who explained that he would have liked to enter the contest—"but if I won first prize, what good would the 1,000 west marks be to my survivors?"

Ribbing the Russians is a four-zone sport, but it actually is a precarious one in the Soviet-occupied area where misplaced humor is a penal offense and an overheard witticism against the authorities can result in a jail sentence. This has given rise to a whole body of *Flüsterwitze*—whisper-jokes—which seep across the borders and are duly printed in Western Zone newspapers, thus achieving wider circulation than if they had not been suppressed to begin with.

Germans living on the Soviet side of the line boast ironically that their zone is bigger than the other three combined. "Our zone begins at the Elbe River," they explain, "and most of its population is in Siberia."

In a Leipzig cafe, a Russian soldier is supposed to have fallen into conversation with a German. "Tell me," he said, "why do you Germans talk about nothing but housing and food? Why don't you talk about high ideals and culture, as we Russians do?" The Leipziger answered, "Well, I guess it's just that people like to talk about what they haven't got."

A disguised MVD agent is supposed to have been sent among the people of Dresden to sound out their reactions to the Soviet occupation. He spent a discouraging day hearing nothing but yammers of complaint, and was delighted to come at last upon a member of the proletariat who changed the tune. "People can say what they like about the Communists," the laborer announced, "but as far as I'm concerned, I'd rather work for a Communist than anybody else." The agent clapped him heartily on the back. "Good man!" he said, "Tell me, what do you do for a living?" So the laborer told him. "I'm a grave digger."

Like Aesop, the Germans sometimes resort to animal characters to point a moral, as in the tale of the rabbit who was crossing the zonal border at a gallop from the east when he met another rabbit on the western side. "What's your hurry?" the western rabbit asked. When the fugitive recovered his breath, he explained. "I had to run away. The Rusians are locking up all the oxen!"

"But why are you running away? You're no ox."

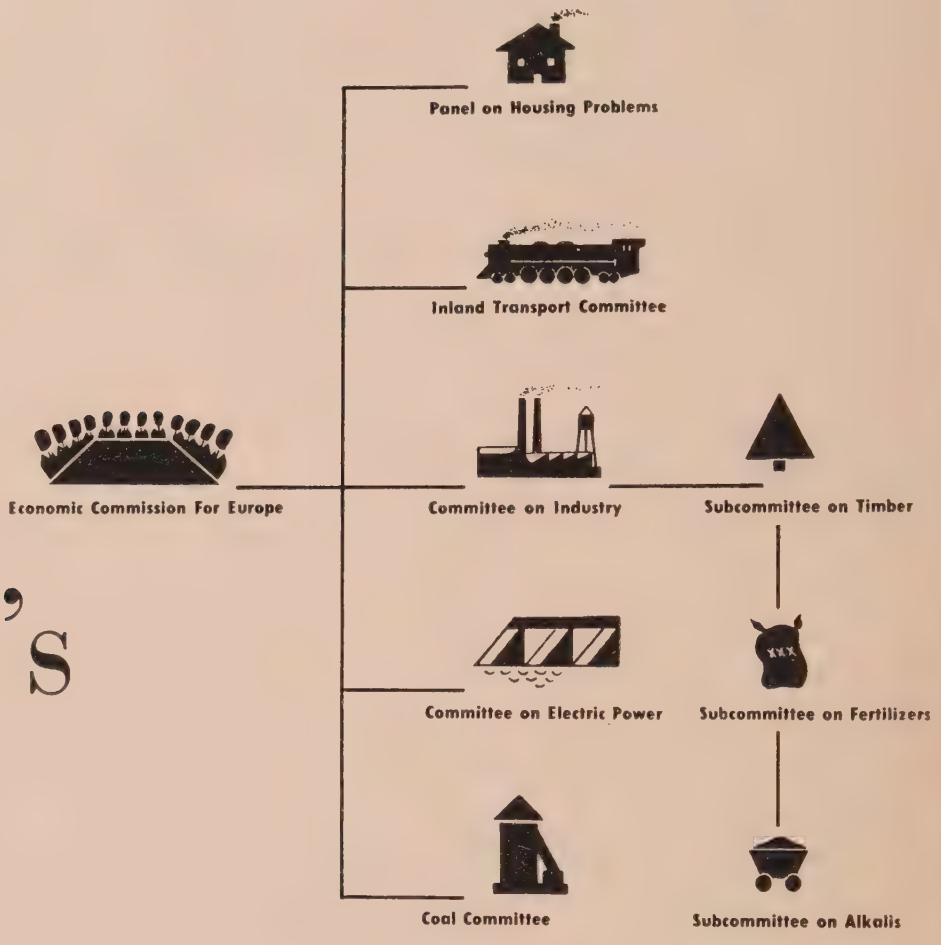
"I know it," says the East Zone rabbit, "but how am I going to prove it to them?"

Not all the current anecdotes are merely local in their application, however. One of the most popular of all the postwar jests is regarded by the Germans themselves as having global significance. It is, moreover, a good example of the Teutonic *Galgenhumor*—gallows humor:

A German is showing a foreigner around the ruins of Cologne. The foreigner is appalled at the limitless devastation and expresses his dismay. "Don't take it so hard," the German soothes him, "Remember, we Germans are always a little ahead of the rest of the world. We're having our ruins now. . . ."

*The top economist of the United Nations confronts the economic consequences of Europe's political division. Traveling from London to Moscow, he searches for remedies.*

# For Europe's Sick Economy




*Organization Chart of the ECE*

By GUNNAR MYRDAL
*Executive Secretary*
*UN Economic Commission for Europe*

NO POLITICAL division of Europe will easily break the interdependence of the Continent, and none could do so without tremendous costs in terms of decreased welfare for all European nations. Political differences, even when pronounced, should not, and need not, render economic cooperation impossible. In fact, mutually beneficial concerted action of sovereign governments may, in its turn, contribute to a lessening of today's acute political tension.

The distribution of Europe's natural resources, the economic goals and the economic problems of many countries of this continent make them interdependent. The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe was created, among other purposes, to assist in meeting this common interest in pan-European economic cooperation as one means of raising European production and welfare. Except for Spain, all the countries of Europe and the United States have participated in varying degrees during the past three years in the work of ECE.

The Commission was set up and began to function in an atmosphere of deteriorating political relations among some member countries. This circumstance has undoubtedly been an important obstacle to the full realization of its practical potentialities.

Unquestionably Europe's present political differences have narrowed the scope of many ECE activities, and frequently complicated the task of reaching agreement. On the other hand, the practical work carried out in several of ECE's technical committees has also demonstrated that the goodwill of member governments can often overcome such barriers. A number of examples of such practical work have been recorded during the short life-time of the Commission: allocations of coal availabilities in the common interest of European countries; facilitating the efforts towards the increase of European steel production by the release of suitable quantities of metallurgical coke; agreement on the lifting of restrictions on the freedom of European roads; conventions on customs procedures relating to the international transport of goods by road, tourist traffic and commercial vehicles; agreements leading towards the fair distribution of available supplies of timber during a period of acute shortage; to mention only a few.

I am the first to acknowledge the exceptional complexity of the world's larger problems, and the important role played by political dissensions and inhibitions.

But at the same time I know, too, that all the countries of Europe have, in different ways, committed themselves to lines of action in the interest of maintaining full employment and a high level of progress in investment and production necessary to permit a rising standard of living and to make them independent of outside financial aid. In this connection, high levels of intra-European trade continue to be a stated objective of national policy for all European governments.

Yet the ECE Committee on the Development of Trade, which should be one of the principal elements of the entire ECE program, has not so far begun to function effectively. This failure has correspondingly weakened the basis for the work of other Committees, for example, the Committee on Agricultural Problems and the work in the engineering industry field of the Industry and Materials Committee.

These Committees now squarely confront the economic consequences of Europe's political division. This is both a limitation and a challenge. In my opinion, the future of ECE, and much besides, depends on the decisions which the governments take on the present and possible future tasks of the Committee on the Development of Trade. The Commission session which convenes in Geneva on May 31st will, among other things, consider the future work programs of the ECE Trade and other Committees. The session will, therefore, be of crucial importance.

### *Politics vs. Economics*

The Trade Committee has been in a deadlock since its last meeting in May 1949. There the "Western" countries considered that the first task of the Committee was to form a clearer conception of the goods available for East-West trade and of the requirements for those goods. The "Eastern" group of countries, on the other hand, saw no purpose in even a preliminary exchange of information while there continued what they described as trade discrimination practised against them by certain Western countries.

Meanwhile, East-West trade is stagnated at a very low level. It is in these circumstances that we in the Secretariat have been endeavouring to find a new multilateral approach to the problem. It involves negotiations to develop mutually saitsfactory lists of goods which the participating countries would agree to export and import. If such lists of goods could be established on a sufficient scale, they might make a substantial contribution towards clarifying the present unsatisfactory atmosphere and increasing the possibilities of trade.

It should not be forgotten that the mutual advantages to be derived from increased trade, and especially from trade between Eastern and Western Europe, have not significantly diminished over recent years, nor are they likely to be less important in the 1950's.

The countries of Western Europe would still benefit from larger supplies of foodstuffs, raw materials and manufactured products from Eastern countries, as well as enlarged export markets in those countries. And at the same time, the pace of industrialisation and general economic development in Eastern Europe would be accelerated by enlarged availabilities of Western manufactured products. This process in turn should open up new markets for the products of Western industry which Eastern countries have hitherto been unable to afford. Any enlargement of the basis for East-West trade should thus permit far-reaching and novel exchanges which would correspond to the emerging pattern of industrial and agricultural development in Europe.

Financial problems have also arisen with growing frequency in ECE operational work. In the development of the Commission's program in timber, power, steel, engineering and trade, issues of financial policy have called for action.

Thus far, members of the ECE Secretariat have acted informally in consultations with officers of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and of the Bank for International Settlements, and have attended as observers a series of meetings called by representative private banking officials. It has been possible in certain instances to help interested parties bring particular financial projects towards the point of responsible decision.

### *Beyond Regional Cooperation*

European regional cooperation can do much to carry forward exchange and financial arrangements organised on a world basis, particularly through the fullest possible mobilisation of Europe's own capital resources. But it can hardly provide a substitute for the world-wide settlement of financial problems urgently needed in the economic interest both of Eastern and of Western Europe.

Yet, ECE, entering a new period from that of post-war shortages, cannot begin to meet the responsibilities laid upon it by its terms of reference unless it undertakes to analyse problems and to formulate proposals of policy in the field of finance. I have therefore suggested to ECE govern-

ments that it would seem reasonable to direct the Committee on the Development of Trade, through an appropriate body of experts, to consider possibilities of ECE work on certain important financial problems.

### *Urgent Financial Problems*

Among such problems I have listed (a) means of assisting in the financial implementation of projects considered or recommended for action by other bodies of ECE; (b) the study of European needs both for commercial and for investment banking facilities, and the conditions under which such financial institutions can best function; (c) work with existing institutions in helping to meet such needs; (d) the recommendation of policies to be pursued in this field by governments and by existing institutions, particularly intergovernmental institutions; (e) the recommendation of new institutions if needed in the light of experience.

One more additional new item is suggested for government consideration at the coming ECE session. In our judgment it would be useful for ECE, with the help of governments, to undertake a first-hand and objective investigation and study of certain aspects of contemporary market organisation which are often thought adversely to affect welfare. One notable phase of the problem is that of European or extra-European cartels, monopolies and private business practices which restrain competition in Europe. These problems are closely related to the commercial policy of government-owned trading entities, as they operate in international trade, and to the problems arising from the economic impact of quotas, payments agreements, and quantitative or other special restrictions of trade.

The proposed study, in addition to examining the structure, price policies, and pace of improvement in efficiency of important industries affecting international economic life, should certainly require also a comparative review of existing legislation, both about trade policy in general, and about the organisation of particular markets under commodity agreements or other special controls. I believe that serious work in this field could make an important contribution to European productivity for those areas of the European economy which are or can be made reasonably competitive, and improve the effectiveness of market forces as an instrument for effecting appropriate structural change.

I have above stressed what I believe to be some of the major problems which suggest themselves as useful areas for future work within the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. I have not discussed the impressive list of practical problems on which work is proceeding in the ECE technical committees, such as those of timber, coal, steel, timber, transport, and electric power. The real, if modest, contributions made by these committees in solving immediate acute bottleneck problems were appreciated, especially by the governments concerned.

### *ECE Is Down to Earth*

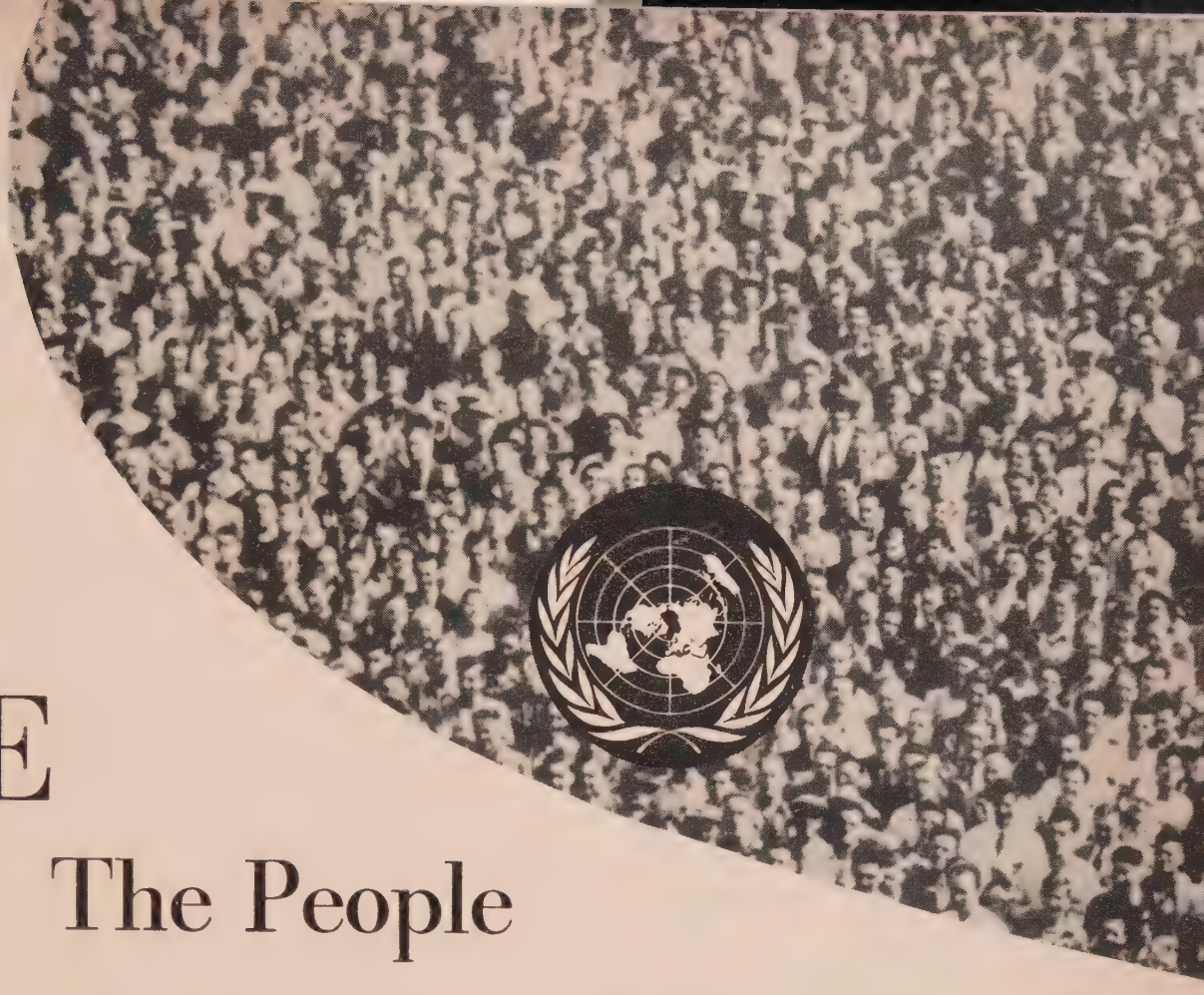
The work of these committees provided the ground upon which the Commission early acquired respect as a practical international agency. This work on urgent and concrete economic questions also established the approach of seeking practical results on limited issues. That approach continues, and is strongly emphasized in their current and proposed future work programs. These committees have continuously adjusted their work to conform to the changing situation, terminating activities which have reached their completion or become less useful, and redirecting their efforts towards what seemed to them important and urgent problems.

And the stabilisation of the Committees as intra-European technical bodies and the reorientation of their work has led to a corresponding development in the Secretariat's research so as to provide a factual basis for government action.

All of the ECE Committees serve as forums where experts from different countries can meet together, and discuss common technical problems on the basis of the fullest possible relevant information. All the Committees have developed machinery for the regular interchange of knowledge and of opinion. All have sponsored and participated actively in the development of fundamental studies, in the belief that such studies, made with the advantage of an international base, can contribute to the development of informed and realistic national and international investment and market policies. Each of the Committees has undertaken work which could contribute in all European countries to improvements in technique and to economies in the use of resources. Each offers possibilities for assisting in the solution of the special economic problems of particular countries.

This day-to-day practical international cooperation has been carried on in the face of, and perhaps to some degree because of, the growing recognition that the political split of Europe is an unhealthy state of affairs, and in the larger perspective most dangerous to the desire of all peoples for peace, full employment, and a rising standard of living. In this connection, the Commission as an all-European organ has acquired an importance above and beyond its immediate concrete accomplishments, an importance as a bridge connecting what are now somewhat loosely identified as "Eastern" and "Western" Europe.

The sense that it was in the common interest of all countries to maintain such an instrument of regular consultation was among the imponderable assets with which the Commission began its work three years ago. And in this sense, the need for the Economic Commission for Europe is hardly less today, or in the foreseeable future. The experience of ECE, the first of the United Nations' regional economic agencies, demonstrates that there are permanent functions to be performed by such bodies in applying the general principles and policies of the United Nations to the special problems of particular areas.



# "WE The People of The United Nations..."

By LAURA VITRAY

IT WAS an early summer day in Kansas. From all over the state several hundred men and women had gathered on the campus of the University to consider the topic, "What can we do for the United Nations?" A tanned and freckled woman arose, her face shaded by a large sun hat with nervously bobbing wreath of flowers. Yet her voice was firm when she spoke. She represented the Kansas farm women—members of the Associated Countrywomen of the World.

"I'd rather be milking cows than trying to make a speech," she declared. "But I've this much to say: we'd all better get behind the UN, if we want our loved ones to be saved from another war. Here in Kansas we farm women figure that knowing what the UN is doing and working for it is something like Bible study. We talk about it at every farm meeting. We open every regular meeting of the Countrywomen by reading one chapter of the United Nations Charter."

Few international diplomats have succeeded in expressing so succinctly what is in the minds and hearts of hundreds of millions of plain people. But these people of the United Nations are thinking and acting for themselves. Through their organizations of every kind, they are rendering incalculable service to peace. First, by giving their advice to the UN and their support to its projects for world betterment. Second, by active missionary effort to extend the UN's influence. Third, by being the UN's "listening posts" for the opinions and aspirations of this planet's vast multitudes.

The countless groups, large and small, from Kansas to Togoland, which today are exerting every effort to make the United Nations a success, are weaving the tissue of a modern international society. They are, in reality, its vanguard.

Out at the UN's headquarters at Lake Success, these thousands of supporting groups wear the impressive title "Non-Governmental Organizations." Maybe you don't think you belong to one. But you do, if you're a member of so much as a sewing circle that has turned itself into a regular UN study and discussion forum.

James B. Orrick, the United Na-

tions' chief liaison officer with the "NGO's," tells the amusing story of a recent conversation with a Latin-American diplomat. "Are the non-governmentals doing a good job for the UN in your country?" he inquired.

"Alas," the diplomat replied, "there are *no* non-governmental organizations in my country."

"What—no Rotary Clubs down there?"

"Oh, yes, and they are strongly behind the UN?"

"No women's clubs?"

"Yes, indeed. And they are a most active force."

"No veterans' organizations? No church groups?"

"But of course, of course. And all these are powerful UN supporters. But non-governmentals—of these, sir, we have as yet none."

The diplomat was amazed to learn that any group that was started by people, with no suggestion or prodding from their government, is a "non-governmental"—and as such the very grassroots from which world democracy is being born.

### *Partners of the UN*

Perhaps the most essential of all the differences between the League of Nations and the United Nations is the latter's profound realization that this is so. Not that the League overlooked the influence of private groups. But the UN goes further than merely to smile and nod to them. It has made them its active partners. The UN Economic and Social Council has conferred a consultative status on 90 great international organizations as provided for in Article 71 of the Charter. Their representatives are heard on important world problems at the Council's regular sessions.

Beyond this, the UN has established a system of "accreditations"—similar to those for press correspondents—for "observers" who cover events at UN headquarters. During periods of important debate, some 60 international organizations, 126 American national groups and 15 non-American have maintained their "reporters" at Lake Success.

Over 1500 national organizations in 78 countries, and 350 international organizations, are also in regular correspondence with the UN. They receive reports on its deliberations. They send their representatives to international conferences that are held, sometimes at headquarters, sometimes in distant parts of the world. The fourth such annual conference met in Geneva last year in the great Council Chamber of the League. The fifth is to convene at Geneva on June 26. In addition, regional conferences of NGO's covering several nations have met in Europe, in Latin-America, at Bangkok in Southeast Asia. A great "exchanging of notes" goes on among the NGO's at such meetings. At Bangkok, for example, Thailand's volunteers wanted to know how the UN is publicized in Ecuador because they considered the conditions there fairly similar to their own.

Through this vast network of voluntary workers for peace, 40,000,000 members of groups in the United States, 276,000,000 outside the United States, are regularly kept informed on what the United Nations is doing, polled for their opinions and enabled to participate in the UN's activities.

Still, there are more people than that in the world—and somehow or other they all must be reached and brought into the close circle of the international family. In Australia, in France, in Chile, in Peru, national committees of the NGO's are at work. One has just formed in the United States. In New York, in San Francisco, in the Hague, in Rangoon, in Montevideo, Public Information Centers are being run by NGO volunteers.

The UN Information Center in New York, housed attractively on Fifth Avenue at 44th Street, is staffed by volunteers of thirty-two national women's organizations. It has from 150 to 200 callers a day. Since it opened in January 1948, it has handed out free literature on the UN to 75,000 people.

The situation is a little different in Africa's Togoland, where office facilities are not quite so available. Yet a good job is being done there too. For want of a better way, the Togoland Association hangs posters telling about the United Nations on trees up and down the main streets of the villages, where the natives come to read.

In their status as consultants, the NGO's have demonstrated that the peoples of the United Nations have a function in correcting the economic and social ills that breed strife and war. The Church groups—Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—have all worked closely with the Human Rights Commission. In many instances they supplied the actual texts that were included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Perhaps you are a Methodist, or a Baptist or an Episcopalian. Your Church belongs to the World Council of Churches, which together with the International Missionary Council is represented before the United Nations by the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. Or the consultative group that carries your views to headquarters may be the Catholic International Union for Social Service, the Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations, the Friends' World Committee for Consultation, or one of several more. In any case, you can feel that through your group you have contributed to the advance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Declaration of Human Rights—setting as it does a standard by which the poor and downtrodden everywhere will lift up their heads and demand their due—is *yours* in a peculiar sense.

The Covenant of Human Rights, now in preparation, will be yours too: in its making, in the task of seeing it ratified by the governments and enforced as international law.

The Church groups, which through their missionary activities know so well the needs of the peoples in the less advanced areas of the world, have given active support to the UN's program of Technical Assistance to the Underdeveloped Countries. In the U.S. their representatives have appeared as witnesses before Con-

gressional committees, urging legislation and appropriations to finance such aid.

The new International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is expected to carry forward the great consultative role that labor groups have been playing in the deliberations of the UN Economic and Social Council. Labor's voice has been strong in securing worldwide measures to prevent discrimination, to protect minorities, to uphold trade union rights and abolish forced labor.

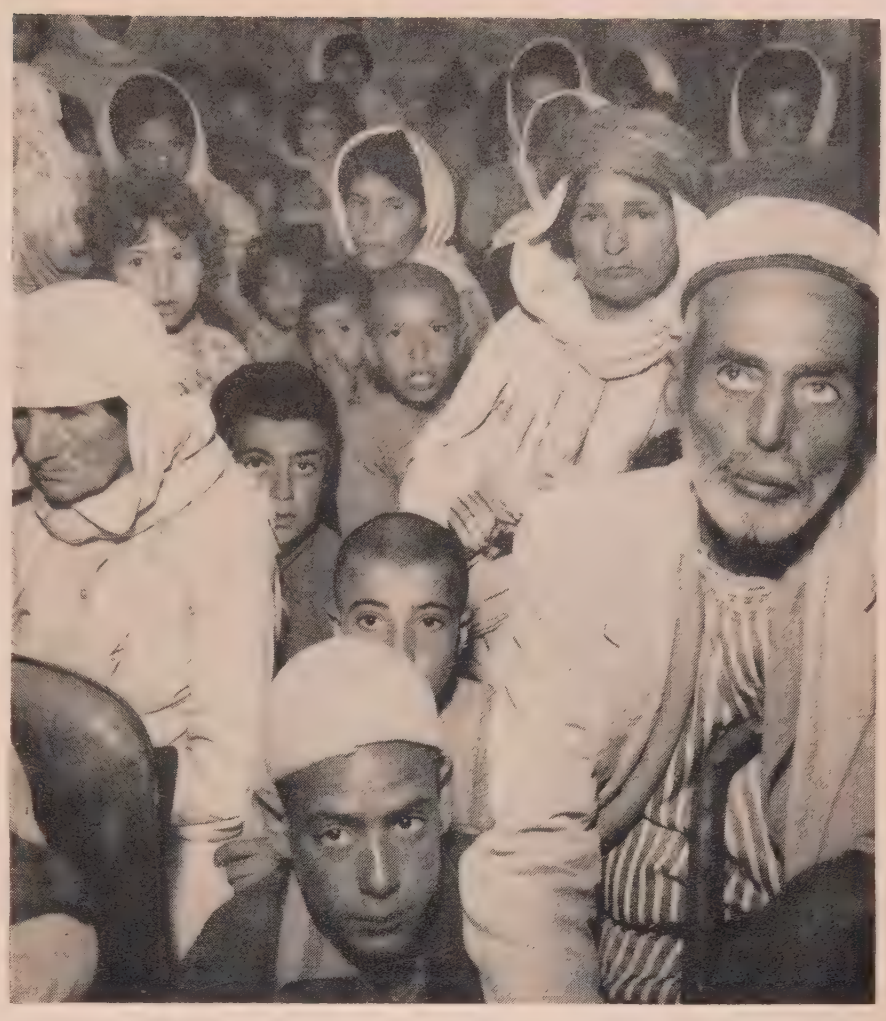
A comprehensive Survey of Forced Labor and Measures for its Abolition was submitted to the recent Tenth Session of the UN Economic and Social Council by the American Federation of Labor.

### *Women and the UN*

Among the great women's organizations with consultative status before the UN are the Associated Countrywomen of the World, International Council of Women, the International Federation of Business and Professional Women, and the International Federation of University Women. These and countless other women's organizations have contributed vitally to UN activities that are having their effect on the status of women throughout the world.

The women's groups have worked closely with the UN Commission on the Status of Women. They supplied suggestions and information for the questionnaire that went out to all member governments, seeking to define the degree of political, economic and social equality women have attained. The replies reveal that while in most lands women have been granted the vote, in many their status is still inferior to that of men when it comes to work and wages, and to such broad social rights under the laws as control of their property or custody of their children. Now the women's group are following up with pressure to bring national legislation into line with the declared principles of the United Nations Charter.

In a sense, of course, it is a mistake to single out any one particular category of the NGO's and link its interests to a single field of United Nations activity. All are more or less deeply involved in the whole range of UN projects for world economic development and social progress—some since the inception of the UN.



**MILLIONS of people throughout the world are being made a part of the UN's family through the work of volunteers in the non-governmental organizations and service clubs.**

Take, for instance, the experience of Lions International, the world's largest service club organization. The group that started back in 1913 as a Chicago business men's luncheon meeting, and began to grow after it got the idea that "you don't get anywhere without doing something for somebody else," now has 7,500 branches in twenty-six countries on five continents, and is climbing toward the half-million mark in members. In a way, it is a little UN movement all its own. Yet, its Past International President, Fred W. Smith, says: "Our widest opportunity has occurred since the fall of 1944, when Lions were accorded the privilege of participating in the off-the-record discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

At the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, there was a Lions consultant to the United States delegation. Lions took part in the first meetings of the non-governmental groups which like themselves could speak for peoples of many nations. They were among the worldwide peoples' groups chosen to be consultants to the Economic and Social Council.

They frankly admit that the obligation imposed upon them in the UN Charter has stretched beyond recognition their own conception of their international role. Back around 1937 they saw it as something to be promoted by the exchange of visits and the swapping of postage stamps by school children of many lands. Today they are up to the neck in

tremendous undertakings. As consultants and observers, they have participated in the sessions of the Economic and Social Council, of the General Assembly, of UNESCO, of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). In the annual conferences of the NGO's they have collaborated with the other great international organizations in discovering the best ways to serve the UN's "one world" ideal. They have distributed 100,000 free copies of their "Service Club Program" on the United Nations, with suggested activities for any non-governmental group. And every Lions Club today has a committee promoting support for the UN in the local community.

Virtually everything that has been said for Lions International could be said for Rotary International, with its nearly 7,000 clubs in 83 countries and its 335,000 members devoted to the ideal of "peace through world fellowship." Its President, Percy Hodgson, will remind you that Rotary too, was at San Francisco—in fact some 50 Rotarians had a hand in the founding of the United Nations. Rotary's fellowships aid specialists of many countries to study abroad, with particular emphasis on social workers for the devastated regions. Rotary has distributed its fat UN textbook "From Here On" to more than 200,000 schools and discussion groups.

The American Association for the United Nations says frankly that the stories of Lions and the Rotary are not unusual. Many little informal UN groups mushroom swiftly into big operating units. A case in point is that of Octavius Pitzalis, who runs a hairdressing shop in Ridgewood, N.J. Octavius wasn't satisfied with lolling back idly while the world flirts with A-bombs and H-bombs. So he called in his neighbors to sit around the shop with him evenings and see if they could dope out ways of getting behind the UN. Pretty soon his customers got the idea too, and took to dropping in. They became an AAUN "Peoples' Section Group." Then the customers started new groups, all over Ridgewood. Now the residents of that town are one of the 75 full-fledged chapters of the AAUN, in its turn part of the World Federation of UN Associations.

There was a time when the hundreds of non-governmental organizations saw their role in promoting world peace as primarily that of deliberating on the stupendous economic and social problems of the world, and advising the UN what to do. A change has come over them in this respect. Not that they neglect to examine the issues, poll their members, and report. But the NGO's at their second Annual Conference at Geneva, reached the conclusion that the solution of world problems is the responsibility of the UN General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council,—while the primary task of NGO's is educational.

### *Call to All People*

Today by printed word and word of mouth, by press, radio and television, utilizing every known channel of communication and every sort of volunteer, the NGO's are transmuting the amorphous populations of the world into an informed functioning "peoples of the United Nations."

Recently the South India Hotel Workers Association, with headquarters in Rangoon, Burma, hired a full-time secretary to analyze UN proceedings and distribute reports to all hotel workers. It was the sort of thing that is being done in the United States by labor and management groups, by the American Legion and its Women's Auxiliary, by Red Cross chapters, YW and YMCA's, boy scouts and girl guides, lawyers, doctors, engineers and architects. These strangely assorted groups constitute the biggest propaganda machine to promote cooperation of free peoples ever set in motion.

In the United States alone, 155,000 women have followed for the past three years the study programs of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women, which has some 6,500 clubs in 25 countries, with a world membership of more than a quarter of a million under the presidency of Sally Butler. In 1948, these groups devoted their time to Human Rights, in 1949 to the Status of Women; this year they are pursuing an extensive course in the work of the Specialized Agencies: ILO, WHO, FAO and UNESCO. This year too, they are thinking specifically about US foreign relations, about Pan-American relations and action the US ought to take in order to be a better "world neighbor." Armed with the facts, they are ready to insist on such action, and are doing so, through their local and national representatives.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs under the leadership of its world-minded president, Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck, has likewise devoted its study programs for the past three years to the United Nations and to international relations, in order to "create an informed public opinion concerning US foreign policy and world problems and encourage effective use of that opinion in the furthering of world peace." A similar goal is pursued by the American Association of University Women, whose larger group—the International Federation of University Women—is a UN consultant. American women have, in fact, yielded nothing to the men in their determination to make world organization successful. The League of Women Voters—affiliate of the International Alliance of Women—organizes mass meetings, public movies, conducts evening courses for school teachers on the United Nations, runs discussion groups for adults and special meetings for children in public libraries.

In a competitive society, there is perhaps no more satisfactory way to compete with one's neighbors, nationally and internationally, than in this enterprise of welding the UN's member peoples into a vast, friendly, understanding, democratic whole. A recent letter from an association of women's societies and youth groups in South West Africa, asking for UN posters and information to distribute, ended with a line that expresses the hope and the goal of all the NGO's: "Dear United Nations, *be successful.* Affectionately yours."

# THE CREDO OF MEXICO

By PRESIDENT MIGUEL ALEMAN

WITH a decision born of full conviction the Government of Mexico has given its support with considered enthusiasm to the work of peace and concord entrusted to the United Nations.

As far back as the Chapultepec Conference, held prior to that of San Francisco, Mexico made known its willingness to cooperate in shaping the structure of an organization designed to promote international security and justice within a framework of formulated principles and purposes.

During the five years that the United Nations has been in existence, we have shared in its activities, moved by the desire to mold, jointly with other States, a better world for ourselves and for coming generations.

That attitude is not solely our Government's but springs from the very consciousness of my fellow-citizens, and is due to two fundamental reasons: our devotion to the democratic system and our eminently peace-loving international conduct.

In making this assertion I do not ignore the fact that the United Nations is an association in which certain members enjoy special privileges. But precisely because those privileges have, upon occasion, paralyzed the action of the United Nations, our faith in democracy as the right rule for sharing life is strengthened, and our desire is awakened to the end that, all suspicions and rivalries aside, the creative spirit that is in man may supersede the rigid precepts of the Charter. All this in addition to the fact that the United Nations offers in the political field a forum of unquestionable value wherein all may discuss without restriction—and solutions thereto should be arrived at in a constructive spirit—the problems that most closely affect mankind, namely, the problems of peace.

Because Mexico is peace-loving and wishes all countries to live in understanding and friendly cooperation with one another, we—as was our practice in the League of Nations—defend with eagerness and adhere with loyalty to the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

Reason shall prevail against attempts to overwhelm it, only when a firm belief is held that there are no conflicts that cannot be resolved in equity and that when no agreement can be reached, tolerance for one another's views is sought.

That this is not easy is self-evident; but no effort is too great if we succeed thereby in banishing the menace hanging over the world and if we are able to carry out the task of securing peace for all, under righteousness and justice.

# MEXICO

# After the

## By THE EDITORS

THE landscape shown above has been destroyed four times, according to the legends: by jaguars, hurricane, volcanic fire and flood, and will be destroyed the fifth time by earthquake.

This mythology finds some basis in the geographic facts of the land running from the jungles of Yucatan up the arid plateau bracketed between two mild ranges, to the deserts of the border. The jaguars and floods are still known in the tropical lowlands. The hurricanes, volcanoes and earthquakes are familiar enough to the highlands. Between them, the geography and the mythology flatly contradict the popular notion that Mexico is only a physical extension of the US.

This harshness is to be read even in the symbol of Mexico, an eagle holding a snake and sitting on a cactus on a rock. It is evident in the Mexican love for the maguey cactus which supplies a food, a strong drink and a thread.

Mexico's 25,000,000 people divide into three sharply contrasted ways of life. Less than a third, of whom 3,000,000 are in Mexico City alone, provide the manpower for the booming urban and industrial civilization of Mexico. In this world preponderantly mestizo (mixed Spanish and Indian), skilled workers get up to four dollars a day.

## *Key to the Picture-Map of Mexico*

1. The Pan-American Highway.
2. Cattle ranches, now winning fight on hoof-and-mouth disease.
3. Lead, zinc and silver mined and refined.
4. Coal.
5. Cactus, the symbol of the Mexican deserts.
6. Cotton, a booming agricultural industry, "the white gold."
7. Poppies of international opium syndicate in Sinaloa.
8. Jap submarine base begun during World War II under cover of Sinaloa anarchy of gang-rule.
9. Industry centered on Monterrey.
10. Oil fields.
11. Dance of the concheros at San Miguel de Allende.
12. Silver mined and refined.
13. Tobacco plantations.
14. Thorn-crowned votary at Guanajuato.
15. Virgin of Guadalupe, greatest Catholic shrine in America.
16. Beflowered, canopied punts in the floating gardens of Xochimilco.
17. Where Cortes landed to fight his way up Valley of Mexico.
18. Mount Popocatepetl.
19. Church of Santa Prisca.
20. Power and irrigation dam to be built on Popaloapan River.
21. Tropical fruits in coastal lowlands.
22. Chicle for chewing gum.
23. Fine woods of Yucatan, notably mohagony.
24. Mayan ruins of Uzmal and Chichen Itza.
25. Henequen for hemp.

# Revolution

Over a third cultivate the arable land. These too are mostly mestizos.

The final third lives a primitive life on the stony sierras and these are mostly Indians.

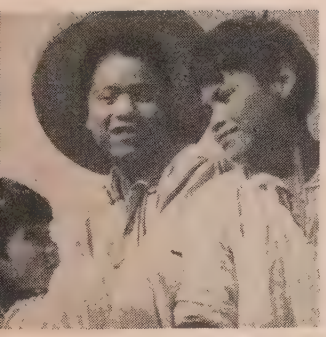
The chief roads and railroads run north and south; there is little communication from east to west. The reason is of course that the mountains run north and south. But, as a result, Mexico is full of lost villages, communities as remote from the world as they were when the conquistadors found them. The lost third of Mexico's people, many of them speaking 50 different Indian tongues, must be brought fully into the national community, if Mexico is to fulfill its whole destiny.

Half of the land is on the slant. Only about 12% of it is arable. Some 37,000,000 acres are now cultivated, or one and a half acres per person. Another 220,000,000 acres are fairly barren pasture land. The government expropriated from the former landlords some 50 million acres and gave it to the heads of families totaling about 7 million people. Half of the crop land is now worked on the communal or *ejidal* system taken from the Aztec rather than the Marxist system.

This process inevitably sent into limbo the great aristocratic landowning families, such once all-powerful names as Amor, Iturbe, Algara, Aviles, Escandon, Campero and Odonoju, and precipitated various convulsions of adjustment. But the *ejidal* is the present hope of the "lost third" of the Mexican people.

The present bureaucratic and owning class is sometimes white but primarily mestizo. The politicians in the states however are often full-blooded Indians, as were the great Juárez and President Cárdenas. The education of Mexico's masses is one of its most urgent problems and one of the biggest items in the budget, outranking national defense and hydraulic resources. It has pro-

Zapotecan



Tarascan

Tehuanan

Otomie

# After the Revolution *continued*

gressed so far that in 1948 the government could claim that half the population over ten years old was literate. Education is compulsory and free.

Actually the ignorance and poverty of the Mexicans have decreased at an astonishing rate in the past 20 years. Mexico has over 150 radio stations, 200,000 telephone subscribers, nearly 2,000 movie theaters and 250,000 motor vehicles. A Mexican entrepreneur is trying to organize a television company.

Mexico has nationalized a great deal more of its assets than England plans in its wildest dreams of Socialism. The government owns the oil and in theory all subsoil wealth, the railroads, the Central Bank and the farm banks, the lottery, the telegraph and telephone, a sugar monopoly and a number of minor corporations.

This has operated not at all to paralyze private initiative or dwindle private income. The national income in 1948 was 22 billion pesos which, at 12 cents a peso, is $2,640,000,000. Average income was $114, a healthy figure for Latin America.

This income, however, was concentrated in and around the big cities, notably Monterrey and Veracruz in the Gulf coast district, and in San Luis Potosí, Guadalajara, Puebla, Pachuca and the whole Federal District of Mexico City. Most of the rest of Mexico was what economists call "economically inactive," sunk in a society of which 85% lived at a bare subsistence level.

A partial solution to Mexico's food problem has lain neglected for centuries until the present government got to work three years ago. Though most of Mexico is dry, a rich tropical land opens at Veracruz and runs into the Yucatan peninsula. This could very well serve Mexico as lavishly as Bengal serves India.

Yucatan has been isolated since Mayan days by jungle, lagoons and floods, so that communication has been only by boat and plane. Now at a cost of $28 million, the government has pushed a railway out to Merida, capital of Yucatan.

The development of this lowland zone begins of course at its more accessible western end. The government is spending $100,000,000 in the Popaloapan River basin to turn the whole area into a rich and integrated civilization. Harbors are being dredged; flood-control dams being built; roads carved through the jungle. The Miguel Alemán dam alone, largest in Latin America, will irrigate 750,000 acres.

Mexican businessmen, recognizing the tremendous potential here, have already begun to develop sugar refineries, meat packing plants, coffee, rice and pineapple.

When Popaloapan is finished, Mexico has still more challenging opportunities to the east. The intelligent Mayans, it must be remembered, preferred this tropical land to plateau Mexico. Yucatan is paired with Florida in a double embrace of the Gulf of Mexico. But Yucatan has a geographic uniqueness in pointing northeast, whereas practically every other peninsula on the planet points south. Beyond this peculiarity, it enabled the Mayans to support a successful civilization.

The forgotten lessons of the past have an increasing attraction for Mexico, as is pointed out in another place in this issue. Certainly it was inevitable that the Aztec religion of fear should be overthrown by the resolute Catholicism of Spain. But Mexicans have already made a synthesis between Spanish Catholicism and their Indian heritage.

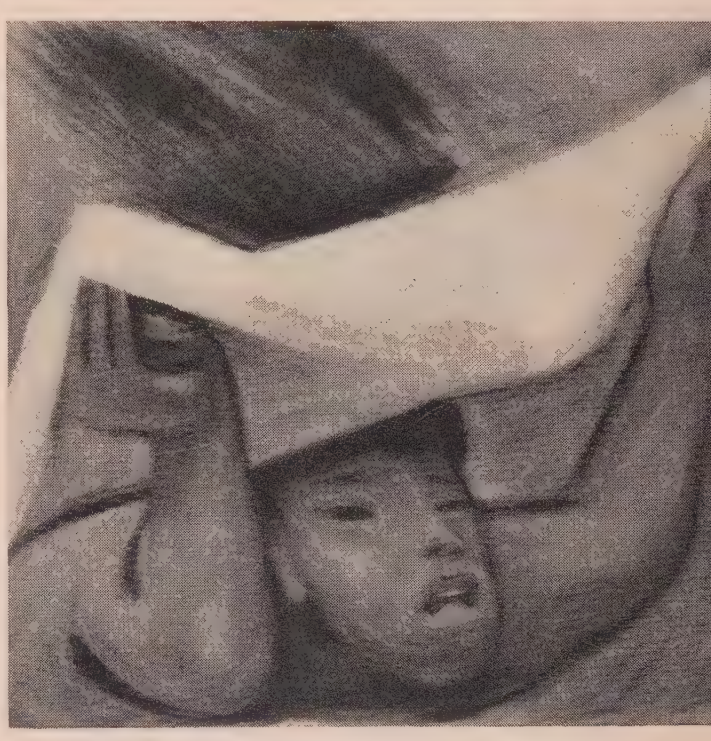
The modern Mexican necessarily lives in both of two worlds: in the half-remembered past of the Indians, in the gathering momentum of the Latin-American present.

The intervening history of the last century and a half, tyranny, revolts, murders and treacheries without end, is incomprehensible and unreadable to the rest of the world. But it is safe to say that this frustrated history has ended. In the determination of Mexico to make the best of both its worlds, a nation has finally found itself.

# A People Finds Its Art

By THEODORE ROUSSEAU

*Curator of Paintings, Metropolitan Museum of Art*



WOMAN LIFTING REBOZO, by Jean Charlot (Oil, 1935)
*Collection Museum of Modern Art, New York*

THE modern school of Mexican painting which has flourished during the first half of the twentieth century is exceptional because it is a national school in a period when painting in the Western World has become essentially international. In every country painters repeat the same formulas. To be sure, most of these originated in the school of Paris, but this very school, led by an expatriate Spaniard, is made up of all nationalities and races. The Mexican school is also unique in the Western Hemisphere in that it has reached a sense of maturity, of complete identification with the culture which produces it. Nowhere else in North or South America is this spiritual uniformity to be found. Here, in the United States, which probably boasts more painters than any other country, the variety is infinite, and very little of what is produced can be said to be an integral part of the life of the people as a whole.

Mexican painting, no matter what evidence it may show of foreign influence, is always unmistakably, almost aggressively, Mexican. This is due to several causes, not the least important of which is the fact that the elements which make up the population have changed comparatively little since the country was colonized in the sixteenth century. There has been no immigration on a huge scale such as that which has transformed the character of the population of the United States during the last sixty years. This stability has made possible a gradual and logical development of the country. Also, both of the great civilizations which have combined to produce it have a long tradition in the plastic arts and particularly in painting. In spite of all that has been lost, there is ample evidence that the Indians produced great paintings, such as the extraordinary Mayan frescoes recently discovered at Bonampak in Chiapas. It is hardly necessary to say that Spain has for centuries produced many of the world's greatest painters. Latin civilization has always expressed itself through the plastic arts in contrast to the Anglo-Saxon tradition of literature. However, perhaps the most important reason for the strong national character of Mexican art has been the identification of the artists with the political life of the country and the part which they have played in its revolutionary development. This has given them both a common purpose and a collective function and, what is essential, the state furthermore has provided them with a patron.

A quarter of a century has passed, and the heroic period of both the political and the artistic movements is ended. The majority of the great frescoes which are the chief products of the school are more than fifteen years old. The passage of time, the war, and the calming down of the political storms have made it possible for us to

view the period with a sense of historical perspective. Many of the paintings which were violent propaganda when they were created, can today be looked at more calmly. They now take their place beside the great works of the past and the present, and they can thus be judged in relation to the sum total of man's achievement in the field of painting.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, art has been passing through a phase of dehumanization—so admirably analyzed by Ortega y Gasset. In the midst of this, the painting of the Mexican school stands almost alone in having kept contact with the pictorial requirements of the people. During the time of its major achievements, it was always an expression of the political and social aims of the revolution through which the country was passing. This came naturally to Mexicans, since the whole tradition, both Indian and Spanish, had been of this kind. The art of the former was entirely religious and official, whereas during the colonial period the church was almost the only patron.

The subject of the painting and its meaning are always of primary importance. Sometimes one of the fundamental human emotions is expressed as in Orozco's Franciscan monk with an Indian in the National Preparatory School in Mexico City, where the towering cowled figure bending over the emaciated, naked Indian symbolizes compassion with the force of Masaccio and the sensitivity of Zurbaran. Sometimes it is a great event of national history as the "Flight of the Indians across the Canyon" by Rivera in the Palace of Cortez at Cuernavaca or a more specifically propaganda piece, such as the same artist's "Man at the Crossroads" in the National Palace of Fine Arts (originally intended for Rockefeller Center), which is as literal as the officially sponsored productions of the Soviet Union. More recently, as frescoes are no longer commissioned and the painters work on a reduced scale, some of them have turned to less ambitious subjects of specific social protest as the "Beyond Despair" by Rodriguez Lozano in the New York Museum of Modern Art, which, though small, still delivers its message with force and simplicity.

It is in the content of Mexican painting, the spirit in which it is painted, that its most striking quality is to be found. Again, the roots of this are deep in national tradition. It is fashionable today to find that the majority of these traits come from the Indians. However, an objective observer is obliged to admit that their Spanish origins are at least as strong, if not stronger. What is left of Indian painting is highly stylized, in the manner of Egyptian art, whereas Mexican painting is unquestionably European in form and character. The final result is a fusion of the two races, but expressed in the terms of the Spanish intellectual. In some cases, it is astonishing to find how much the Indian and Spanish traits resemble each other. The most impressive quality in all the products of the school is intensity of feeling, which often takes the form of an almost savage violence. This has, of course, a parallel and doubtless to some extent an origin in the mysterious brooding masks of the Indians with their cruel mouths so wonderfully rendered by Siqueiros in his "Ethnography" in the Museum of Modern Art, New York. However, this violence has been a characteristic of Spanish art from earliest times. The "Death of a Peon" by Rivera in the Mexican Ministry of Education in its human simplicity and dramatic concentration is intimately related to Zurbaran's great Carthusian series painted for Jerez and now partly in the Grenoble Museum. In his "Prometheus" at Pomona College, Orozco is a modern Greco; and in his great symbolical scenes in the State Government Palace of Guadalajara, he is guided by the spirit which inspired Goya in his terrifying frescoes for the villa on the Manzanares. In no case is there any question of copying or imitation; it is one of fundamental identity of feeling.

The melancholy, the preoccupation with death which is constantly present in Mexican painting, has a similar source. Skulls and death symbols are frequent in Indian art, but today their meaning is remote and unreal. The modern Mexican shares with the Spaniard the same peculiar attitude towards death, an attitude which it is difficult for northern people to understand. They are both possessed with a passion for living. Neither action nor results matter greatly to them; rather, they have a passionate desire to exist, to affirm their personality in the present. In this connection, nothing is more misleading than the popular estimate of Spain and Mexico as the "countries of mañana;" they are, on the contrary, essentially the countries of "today," of the immediate moment. For them death, regardless of religious beliefs, is not only an ever-present challenge but also a supreme mockery. They feel immortal, though they know that they are doomed to die. The result of this is the sombre, brooding side of the Spanish character which Unamuno has called *"el sentimiento trágico de la vida."* The bullfight might be called its living symbol.

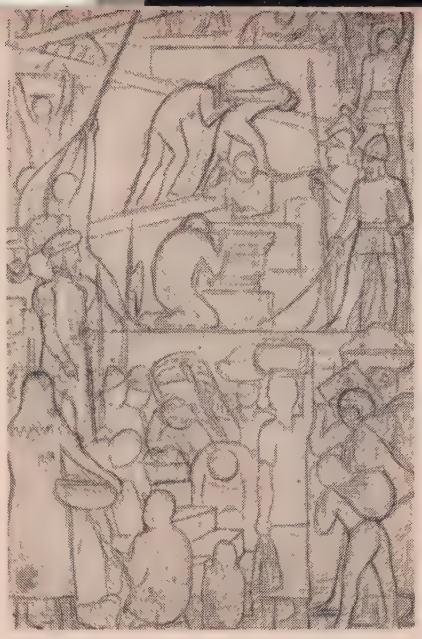
The same melancholy and macabre mood is constantly present in Mexican painting. Among the most outstanding examples of it are the sardonic and bitter cartoons of Posada, the early works of Orozco which recall Goya's "Desastres de la Guerra" and his fresco of "Higher Learning" at Dartmouth College, the "Sob" of Siqueiros in the Museum of Modern Art, which has the impact of one of the seventeenth century Spanish figures of the Man of Sorrows, and finally the horrible "Hanged Man" by Goitia in the Mexican Ministry of Education.

One of the greatest glories of the Mexican school is the revival of the art of monumental fresco painting for which it is responsible. Not since the Renaissance has wall painting been conceived and executed on such a grand architectural scale. At its beginnings, when the first attempts were made by the group of artists who were part of the famous revolutionary Syndicate of Technical Workers, Painters and Sculptors, the works of the Italians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

were the models. Charlot, in his "Fall of Tenochtitlan" in the National Preparatory School of Mexico City, followed Ucello and Leonardo, and Montenegro was influenced by Ghirlandaio. The most impressive example of this early work is the magnificent use which Orozco made of a motif inspired by Giotto in the "Christ chopping down his Cross," a fresco now partially destroyed, also in the National Preparatory School. Mexican painters soon outgrew these influences, however, and their art, retaining many of the best elements of the earlier work, became more personal.

Their mural compositions seem to have been inspired by the concentrated, compact groups in Mayan bas reliefs. In some of his later works Rivera seems almost obsessed by the *horror vacui* of primitive art. Orozco frees himself from this more than the others. The arrangement of space is based on Renaissance methods with an occasional return to the perspective of the primitive as in Orozco's work at Dartmouth College. In every case it preserves admirably the architectural solidity of the wall. The rendering of form is broad with a great emphasis on volume and monumentality. The figures are heavy and sculptural, but without losing any of their vitality particularly in the case of Siqueiros who, with his spray-gun technique, has created a new kind of wall decoration which goes even further than fresco in relating the painted decoration to the architectural structure around it. Orozco broke away completely from the traditional immobility and painted flame-like forms reminiscent of Greco. His painting called the "Ascension" in the Cupola of the Orphanage at Guadalajara in which an emaciated, foreshortened body spirals up into the sky, is one of the greatest feats of spatial *trompe l'oeil* in painting. There are numerous other painters who give variety to Mexican art. In recent years mural painting has disappeared due to lack of patronage, and the artists working on a smaller scale have had a different, more intimate approach. They have experimented with many of the new movements and have thus tended to merge gradually into the international style. The surrealism of Kahlo and the abstractions of Mérida and Tamayo both contain elements which have been used frequently before in Europe, although Tamayo's color is a strong and original contribution. The charming, sensitive classical figures of Galvan are reminiscent of Picasso. The realism of Ruiz and the broad, simple forms of Miza still have some specifically Mexican quality; but they too lack spontaneity and power of their predecessors.

The great moment in Mexican painting was the time when the fresco cycles were being created. The panorama of twentieth century painting reveals no other school which issues so directly from the life of the people who produce it, none which delivers its message with such clarity and power. In years to come, when time has discarded much that is fashionable today, the creations of the Mexican school will remain the major contribution to the painting of our time.



*Collection Museum of Modern Art, Ne*

1 Rivera

Siqueiros 2

3 Galván

Tamayo 4

1 BUILDING THE PALACE OF CORTES (Pencil, 1930)

2 ETHNOGRAPHY (Duco on composition board, 1939)

3 CHILDREN (Oil on canvas, 1939)

4 ANIMALS (Oil on canvas, 1941)

By RAFAEL DE LA COLINA
*Mexican Ambassador to the United States*

# We Might Have Been Enemies

ONE hundred years ago the agitation for the absorption of all Mexico, which during the latter part of the Mexican-American War gained considerable headway in the United States, had practically died down. Never again would such a nefarious movement become a force in the political life of this great nation. However, serious misunderstandings and even bitter differences continued to cloud our relations. Only in the last few decades has a spirit of sincere good neighborliness finally prevailed. Today, at the mid-century mark, we stand as true friends, not unaware of our dissimilarities and our unlike traditions, yet fully conscious of our common cultural heritage and of our parallel democratic aspirations, born of an unquestioned recognition of the innate dignity of Man.

Only people determined to find fault with democracy are stubborn in stressing anti-democratic prejudices and practices in countries that avow the democratic creed. In Mexico, for instance, they will harp on fraudulent electoral methods of the past, on the bane of militarism in politics, also of the past, and, unduly loudly, of bureaucratic corruption—a sin by no means peculiar to Mexico —definitely on the wane. In the United States racial discrimination and bygone imperialistic urges will be brought forth as damning evidence against democracy or as implying that this country is not democratic at all.

An intelligent view will disassociate existing evils to which Ideal Democracy is opposed, from the real order of things, and will rather examine the efforts and the progress made to abolish those evils, to determine whether the efforts are sincere and well directed and whether progress is substantial and steadfast. And in the field of international relations this, too, should be the proper method of approach.

In the relations between Mexico and the United States there is a rich field in which to appraise this matter. In no other subject of modern times has there been, it seems to me, more misrepresentation by historians, swayed as they have been by patriotic fervor or beguiling prejudices.

No. We should begin a new approach. We should bear in mind the heritage of each nation, and how that heritage has moulded the policies of each, and how, then, the leavening that is democracy has unceasingly acted to create a better integrated, more harmonious type of society.

As to the United States first: Here lived many people sold heart and soul on the idea that since they were of Anglo-Saxon stock undiluted, by reason of this purity of blood theirs was an incomparable race. Charles Francis Adams, to cite only one instance, harped on the theme before several historical societies, calling Mexicans "a degenerate people."

I bring this subject up because it has affected the relations between Mexico and the United States to a large degree. Quite often influential and important persons in this country have acted as if they were not dealing with a people fully equal to themselves. The only good Indian, as the saying had it, was a dead Indian, and the Mexicans were half-Indian, anyway.

Yet, by virtue of their devotion to democratic ideals, the people of the United States have gradually come to find it natural and agreeable to acknowledge the equality with themselves of their neighbors to the South. The number of Congressional Medals awarded to Mexican soldiers and to soldiers of Mexican descent, testifies to the recognition by the United States of Mexican valor. Nor can a Mexican ever forget President Truman's fine gesture in sidestepping protocol to place flowers personally at the foot of the monument to the defenders of the Halls of Montezuma, the heroes of the battle of Chapultepec, a handful of boys in their 'teens. The distance covered between the upholders of Manifest Destiny on the one hand and President Roosevelt with his Good Neighbor Policy and President Truman with his big-hearted, yet shrewdly far-sighted Point Four on the other hand, gives us the true measure of democratic advance.

Superior power inspired the aggression finally carried out in that war which Lincoln of the North and Stephens of the South found abhorrent. And even after that war, for years, many United States citizens went on coveting more Mexican territory. This is the background. The issue is that, since then, as the leaven of democracy worked in the conscience of the United States, a new consideration of Mexico emerged, a new respect for Mexico which may have seemed to the imperialist a weakness in American

policy, but which, rightly viewed, is the best sign of the real and invincible strength of the land of Washington and Lincoln.

For the United States shall not be defeated while it holds loyal to the democratic tenet of the equality of nations as well as the equality of men.

Differences, sometimes sharp differences, are natural occurrences between the United States and Mexico. These differences, however, are being resolved as by equals, in democratic give-and-take, or through the simple formula of agreeing to disagree, with never the question, never the prospect, of resorting to force of arms or to economic warfare, which can be just as cruel, to bring an issue to conclusion.

Mexico too had a peculiar heritage which might not have been overcome but for the influence of democracy active in its midst. It was the heritage of a conquered people, of feudal institutions, of a government for the profit of the rulers rather than for the benefit of the governed. Thus the best intentions of the Fathers of Mexican Independence, Hidalgo, Morelos, Guerrero, Guadalupe Victoria, were defeated in the early years of our life as an independent nation. Again, during the period of Reform (as we called the movement which produced and which was so greatly influenced by Benito Juarez) we saw the undertow of reactionary forces draw Mexico backwards with the help of French imperial armies. And even in the third great stride of Mexico towards democracy and self-rule, in the course of what we call the Revolution, initiated by the martyr President, Madero, we have suffered vicissitudes. But the advances made have far surpassed every slip backward, and Mexico stands today a peace-loving nation in a world rent by threats of war, a free people among peoples many of whom are alienated from freedom's ways, a country that has shown how, under the rule of law, the national interests can be protected without recourse to violence.

Throughout this process it was only natural that Mexican relations with the United States would at times become strained, as there was not always in my country orderly government and unity of purpose while in the United States a sympathetic understanding of the aims pursued by Mexico was often missing.

Differences between the United States and Mexico can be many and at times bitter; sometimes Mexico may be at fault, sometimes the United States, other times both nations; but the remarkable thing is that war as an instrument of national policy had been in their very hearts renounced by both peoples as between themselves, long before the Rio Treaty and the Bogota Pact, by virtue of democratic consideration and brotherly regard for each other. In this manner a great and reasonable hope has been imparted to the whole world. We can take pride in this achievement.

We have learned the hard way to be friends. War sowed seeds of hatred between us, racialism fostered further ill-will, economic imperialism brought as its counterpart fierce nationalism, and on top of that or underlying that, as you will, there has been a running current of misunderstanding because of differences in language, traditions and habits.

But in regard to this kind of difference we have come to realize that it would be a grievous mistake to seek to standardize our countries and I think more stress should be laid on that fact as concerns the United Nations. A standardized world is a totalitarian nightmare. What is desired, and it is this that has been largely achieved between Mexico and the United States, is a larger, more varied taste, if I may call it such. President Truman summed it all up in one fine homespun phrase when he said of President Alemán, his guest at the White House, "He's a grand guy." Compare the two men, define their differences, and then take notice of all the things wherein they can have each that opinion of the other, and you have the whole problem sketched out fully. I sometimes think we need more of Plutarch's parallelism to understand this evolution in the North American Continent that has made Mexico and the United States such exemplary good neighbors. It is not that we speak one language, because too often sign language is the only means of communicating ideas between Mexican and American, or that we have the same likes and dislikes when it comes to stuff to drink or eat, or games to play. The fact making for good neighborliness is that we have grown to like each other, to be tolerant of each other, to enjoy each other's company, to respect each other.

With suspicion and fear largely removed, with mutual trust and respect inspiring our daily contacts and actions, cooperation has become the keynote of the relations between Mexico and the United States.

Cooperation in stamping out the dreaded hoof-and-mouth disease, in combatting the destructive black fly, in developing new types of hybrid seeds, in finding new ways to utilize raw materials, in establishing commercial and industrial enterprises, in promoting cultural interchanges, and above all, cooperation in constantly enriching the common treasure of our friendship, is to my mind the most distinctive trait of our present-day relationship. It is also the greatest lesson in democracy that we can offer to the world.

President Alemán, in his address at the University of Kansas City, upon receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws, thus summarized this lofty endeavor:

> "From the point of view of culture, there is one advantage among many others that the democracies enjoy over the totalitarian systems; an advantage in which we are bound by duty to take pride on every occasion. And that is that in a democracy the truth is broadcast on its own merits and is not subservient to purposes of propaganda. In a democracy no distinction can be drawn between occult truths, known only by the masters, and the so-called truth that is fabricated especially for the vassals. Nor do democracies have to resort in their self defense to the mental barriers of the dictatorships raised to keep from their people a factual knowledge of what is happening in other countries. In a democracy the resplendent nakedness of truth does not tolerate being masqueraded under a despot's uniform. Democracy is the aspiration towards what is really universal. There is only one universal measure. . . . Man."

# Mexico in The United Nations

By MANUEL TELLO

*Acting Secretary of Foreign Relations of Mexico*

THE World War that was begun on September 1, 1939 has left humanity burdened with a heritage of many problems of a complexity unparalleled in the history of international life. But it has also produced an instrument which, employed in a constructive spirit, can help to solve those problems so that all States may live together harmoniously.

The establishment of the United Nations, with the fundamental purpose of maintaining international peace and security, is indeed evidence of the firm resolve of the peoples of the world to live in peace, as indicated by the Charter of San Francisco, as good neighbors. We must not suppose, however, that the United Nations is a perfect entity, or far less think that we are dealing with a creation subject to perfection.

As a matter of fact, the structure and functioning of the organization born in San Francisco have been, and are, the subject of serious preoccupation and severe criticism. I deem it particularly timely to refer, on this occasion, to one of the most delicate problems faced when the United Nations was founded in 1945, and which has a most important bearing on international relations in this hemisphere, namely, the harmony between regional and world associations.

Mexico, together with the other Latin-American countries, insisted on the necessity of writing into the Charter of the Organization specific provisions to safeguard the principle of regional agreements, and, in so doing, the Mexican Government served the interests of the Pan-American Union — now the Organization of American States — which has to its credit a magnificent record resulting from the joint efforts of all our Republics. The approval of the provisions contained in Chapter VIII of the UN Charter proves the success achieved on this far-reaching problem. The juridical and political effectiveness of this solution is attested to by the subsequent adoption of the agreements reached at the Bogota Conference and of the Rio de Janeiro Treaty for Reciprocal Assistance.

Thus, while upholding the supreme ideal of a world-wide association of nations for which we have at all times desired the most genuine universality, Mexico did not overlook, nor has it ever ignored, the basic importance of regional and bilateral relations which, properly understood and practiced, are wholly compatible with world organization, and also find a new and fertile field for development in the world organization. The international forum provided by the United Nations, viewed in this light, does not lessen the possibilities occurring to the bilateral linking of countries, but rather enhances and enriches them, as in the case of the relations between Mexico and the United States of America. Within the United Nations, with its typically parliamentary procedure, US-Mexican relations have been strengthened, sometimes through coincidence of points of view, sometimes by the spirit of reciprocal understanding, and at all times by the mutual respect underlying our bonds of amity.

## *UNW's Cues to Mexico*

**National symbol:** eagle and snake.

**National plant:** maguey cactus; yielding cloth, food and strong drink.

**National favorite colors:** purples, blues, reds, greens.

**Finest cathedral in Latin America:** Cathedral of Puebla.

**Patroness of the whites:** Virgin of the Remedies.

**Patroness of the Indians:** Virgin of Guadalupe.

**Revolutionary heroes:** too numerous to list, at least one to a village.

**Forgotten man:** Hernan Cortes.

**National need:** water.

**National virtue:** philosophical view of life.

**National vice:** carrying concealed weapons.

**Value of the peso:** 12 cents.

The sky god Quetzalcoatl as a feathered serpent, from a relief at Xochicalco.

By MALCOLM LOWRY
*Author of "Under the Volcano"*

Drawings by Covarrubias
From *Mexico South* (Knopf)

# Garden of Etla

ASKING anyone afflicted with Mexico to order his thoughts is much like asking him to order them about the sea. or the woman he loves. Yet I have often felt there must be some reason for the devotion among much that is inexplicable.

We may smile reading the travel advertisement: "Magic Mexico, where the past mingles with the present, and the days go by in a timeless golden haze."

And yet, there *is* a magic about Mexico, the days do go by in a timeless haze, its romance and mystery are not overstated. But what is the secret of the attraction, one might say the almost teleological psychic attraction, of Mexico? Why do so many people go there, and, having gone, long to return?

The person who falls in love with Mexico falls in love with a colorful and proud and present entity, it is true, but he is also involved, in the deepest sense, with a mystery. That does not sound new: man himself is a mystery, and perhaps this is part of the point. The aqueducts of Rome, or the baths of Caracalla, had a purpose, and those familiar with history can identify themselves with the people who built and used them. But some of the monuments of Mexico imply a total, a more than Egyptian enigma, leaving beyond the questions "To what end?" or "How?" the question "Whence?"

It is customary to blame the Spaniards for this state of affairs. For example in Mitla, in Oaxaca, in the marvelous Zapotecan place of sorrow (in itself constructed in such a fashion as not merely to baffle archaeologists but completely confound anybody who has tried to build anything himself), we find the remains of an extensive library. No one knows what kind of books it comprised, for here as elsewhere in Mexico the Spaniards in their religious zeal to destroy the power of the priests and their religion, destroyed all the records too, even though in this case the Zapotecans were a beauty-loving and extremely enlightened race, who never made human sacrifices.

But let us move some miles away to Monte Alban, with its temples and pyramids, where Mexican archaeologists exploring the tombs found exquisitely carved objects of jade. But where did the jade come from? No one can tell us about the jade, nor who first built Monte Alban. And there is not even a legend—even Atlantis has a legend—as to who built the porphyry palace of Mitla. The Zapotecans had occupied the region for five hundred years before the Spaniards. But the Spaniards never found out who occupied it before that because the Zapotecans themselves did not know. All we know is that the Zapotecans were a people possessing a high degree of civilization and cultural genius. But before that there were another people, also of an advanced civilization, and also possessing a high degree of genius. . . .

The sense of this past, of sorrow, of death: these are factors intrinsic in Mexico. Yet the Mexicans are the gayest of people, who turn every possible occasion, including the Day of the Dead, into a fiesta. The Mexicans laugh at death; that does not mean they don't take it seriously. It is perhaps only by the possession of a tragic sense of life such as theirs that joy and mirth find their

# Garden of Etla *continued*

place: it is an attitude that testifies to the dignity of man. Death, defeated by rebirth, is tragic and comic at once. On many planes this is true.

Some people undoubtedly feel drawn to Mexico as to the hidden life of man himself; they wonder if they might not even discover themselves there. Or is it that faith is the key, or the mysterious presence of faith? The churches of Mexico are always open, and we walk in. But though their beauty might often warrant it, they are not open just for tourists to admire.

Though we sense and welcome this presence, some of us may also feel that it includes within it something far older which was its origin, deeper, and still alive.

Beneath these unique and melancholy ruins of Mitla, in Oaxaca, there are subterranean chambers, in one a cruciform tomb, over the door of which there is a panel with hieroglyphics, the meaning of which is not known. Here on a stone an Oaxaquenian quite recently found a wreath of flowers, of a kind known as zempoazochitl, used by the Indians in their burial ceremonies, and, as if appealing to the realms of the dead for some person's eternal rest, a wax candle, burning. . . .

I first went to Mitla some fifteen years ago in the company of a great friend, a Zapotecan named Fernando Atonalzin. For his ancestors, as has been said, it was a place of mourning; clearly the site had never been meant to be cheerful. A gale blew a screen of dust across the silent empty zocalo. A melancholy broken road, hedged by crepitant cactus, led to the ruin where, in a more open space, the wind wailed through those ancient halls that if they resembled anything, resembled Greece, and had housed who knew what drama, what prophetic movements. Birds not only do not sing, but have never, it is said, been seen in Mitla.

Afterwards we repaired to an excellent and beautiful, though almost invisible restaurant (for there is nothing outside the high wall to tell you of the garden within) where we conversed over his favorite mescal.

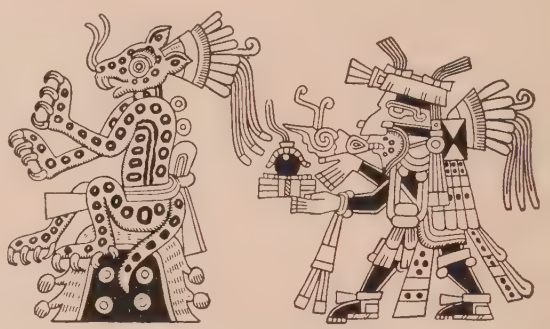
About twenty-four when I knew him, Fernando stood six foot three—thus contradicting ethnology, for the Zapotecans are supposed to be shorter than the Mixtecans—and in features he rather resembled an Italian. I have said that he was, and he always thought of himself as, Zapotecan, but he owned some Spanish blood.

For sleeping under the stars and eating tortillas and beans he had a literal preference; doubtless he would have been equally at home at the Hotel Crillon in Paris. He had attended Mexico University where he had been trained as a chemist; apart from this, and a visit to New Orleans, where a relative was in the diplomatic service, he had spent most of his life in Oaxaca. With somewhat of the careless, noble bearing of a king, Fernando would have met with scant opposition had he claimed descent from his regal namesake.

Our conversation took place at a time when Oaxaca was not easily reached by the tourist. No navigable roads led into it, and during the slow circuitous train journey from Mexico City, through the furnace of the cactus plains, it seemed less as if you were going to Oaxaca or indeed any other goal, than into the sphere of one of Eliot's poems.

I laughingly cited this ordeal as a possible reason why Monte Alban and Mitla seemed, compared with other Mexican attractions, lesser known to the outside world. Or was it that as an arena of more recent historical events Oaxaca itself had been too animated to be concerned with her past? Had not, in the City of Oaxaca, Guerrero died, and for that matter, Porfirio Díaz been born? And were not both Juárez and the president, Cárdenas, Oaxaquenians, and besides, Zapotecans? And were not those people of his race two of the most formidable names in modern history? Fernando smiled . . .

His judgments were not mine. The very word formidable was not one he cared to use in that relation. Time nearly repeated itself; history likewise. To a Zapotecan modesty was an all-important quality, saved from its false



**Tepeyollotl as earth-jaguar and as human.**

counterpart by its very silence. Why boast about that which has been done before? You could try to do better; you could succeed; but best keep silent about it. Life itself should strive, so far as possible, to be impersonal.

Man he likened to the Valley of Etla. Perhaps I would understand this better if he said the Garden of Eden. Every man was, in a sense, his own Garden of Eden. To this extent others could be seen as spiritual modifications of oneself. This was evil, but not wholly an illusion.

What was not an illusion at all was that you found yourself either within this symbolic garden or, mysteriously—and here I had to accept the paradox that this did not mean that you were exiled from your own soul—you were made aware that you had been evicted from it. If not, one of the surest ways to become evicted was by boastfulness, though this had a deeper meaning than was contained in the mere word. Be impersonal as you may, the moment you attributed any formidable value to yourself for this, you went out.

Then, one of the most certain ways never to return was by excessive remorse, or sorrow for what you had lost. This to a Zapotecan was more of a sin than it was held to be by the Catholics of his upbringing; it was another form of boasting: the assumption of the uniqueness of your misery. In fact that was probably why the Zapotecans had set a special place aside here in Mitla for

one's mourning: excessive mourning led to the same thing. Had I ever heard that Cárdenas or Juárez were boastful men? They too, I would probably find, had been modest in their claims, as with certain reservations, they were impersonally intent on doing good. Fernando had strayed from the point: but somehow he had objected to the word formidable—

As I listened to this I seemed to be looking into the impénetrable gaze of some Mexican eidolon that itself seemed looking into eternity. How much of this, I wondered, had come down to Fernando from the old Zapotecan religion? Or from yet older sources? And where had I heard anything like it before? In part like Catholic thought, Ecclesiastes, much like the Stoics, resembling esoteric Eastern knowledge, like nothing I had heard of in its partial recognition of solipsism, and at the same time in its unswerving belief in a living God—back, back, my ill-informed mind went, across the Atlantic, back in time to India, Greece, the Orient—whence?

But the job to which Fernando was frankly dedicated provided yet another strange link with the past. This was with the Banco Ejidal, whose historical function was (and is) based on an old Aztec system, a bank that differed from another bank in that instead of your going to it, it went to you—if you were a remote Oaxaquenian village—largely on horseback in those old days, and across wildly dangerous mountainous terrain. Fernando had a genius for languages, and he needed it, for his part was that of the horseman, often combined with that of a doctor, and there are fourteen different languages in Oaxaca; he spoke them all, including Chinanteco, Popaloco, and Zoque, and the mournfully majestic old Spanish of the conquistadors, such as is still used in San Lorenzo Abbarotes. In addition he spoke Italian and French fluently and had mastered English, though in speech he had a haunting habit of putting prepositions ("I like to work them with") at the end of a phrase.

I had once had the privilege of being invited on one of his more hazardous journeys, in fact from Cuicuitlan to Nochixtlan, via Parian, where at that time there was no road. On the way (this was 1937) we ran short of a horse and rather than wait longer for another, Fernando insisted I use his while he ran. A mere matter of twenty miles, mostly slightly uphill. Moreover every time I prepared to dismount he would urge his horse, who was enjoying the whole thing after a rest, to a canter once more, and when I would inquire if he were not getting tired, Fernando would laugh, and had the breath to do so uproariously. He liked, he said, to run his horse with.

This story, not for the first time, I was telling my wife as we were travelling by bus from Cuernavaca to the City of Oaxaca nine years later, with the important collateral object of trying to locate Fernando himself, whom I had lost touch with during the war.

I know nothing to compare with the approach to Oaxaca over the mountains, by bus, with the fresh wind blowing through the windows, and over the new highway. There is probably the most tremendous sense of space to be obtained anywhere in the world. Range after range after jagged remote range stretch for hundreds of miles in every direction. Not even on the sea, or on the prairie, not even in Canada, do you get such a feeling of boundless immeasurable space as this; and the mystery is all the greater because in some of these most apparently inaccessible places, people live.

In Oaxaca, later that night, we saw, from the roof of the Hotel Francia (where D. H. Lawrence once wrote a famous letter to Middleton Murray), high above, the dimly castellated outline of Monte Alban.

The next morning we discovered that Fernando had been dead for five years, having died far from home in Villahermosa, Tabasco.

That afternoon we went up a hot road to the summit of Monte Alban and walked into the ruin of the antique city.

Below us the valley spread out with a river and sweet green fields, and villages, deep in trees, each village marked by a church spire, and all around stood the mountains, the nearest with their indentations shadowed, like great gods with their hands upon their knees.

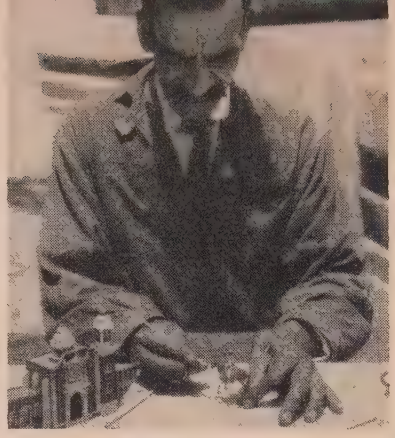
To the left we saw the highway we had traversed the previous day, talking of Fernando and our hopes of seeing him. Ahead of us the road ran on through the valley to Mitla, where we had planned to go with him if possible, and where in fact we did go the following day, and drank, in that same restaurant, exactly the same sort of gale blowing outside, a mescal to him, pouring a few drops on the earth; as later, we lit a candle for him in the Church of the Soledad, which I remembered he never passed.

Sorrow had to be in its proper place. Yet at the moment no one ever seemed less dead than Fernando Atonalzin. It seemed actually an impertinence to mourn, even though one could not help it. And suddenly I remembered something I'd forgotten to say in that restaurant in the course of that conversation eight years (and now it is thirteen years) before: "The sense of time is an inhibition to prevent everything happening at once."

The remark, or so claimed the source I mentally borrowed it from, is Bergson's. I wondered if it would have seemed too "formidable" for Fernando, not impersonal enough. I felt I could hear him chuckling, and I doubt whether he would have accepted the romance of the thoughts which it aroused, though here, if anywhere in this hemisphere, was the place to meditate upon it.

But Fernando would not have failed to grant such a feeling to the people present, for what they would make of it, nor the hope for man it might further engender here in this fertile Valley of Etla, as we stood gazing over it, as eternally gazes the statue of Juárez, while far below and in the utmost distance, as if seen from a colossal mirador, seemed all Mexico itself; standing there with treasures rich as those of ancient Egypt beneath our feet within those tombs containing crowns and feathers of gold, pearl, turquoise — stood, in the terrific shadow of the past, the remote little farms he had served climbing the hillsides, the bell-haunted city of Oaxaca below, at the seat and resting place of the Zapotecan Kings.

PRIMITIVE FARMING is still the rule in most of Mexico, as on this dry hill near Taxco.



TOY-MAKER hand-colors mounted figure for booming trade in novelties.

CHEWING GUM comes from sap of chicle tree, flowing down gashes in trunk.

*Ewing Galloway*

# Mexico at

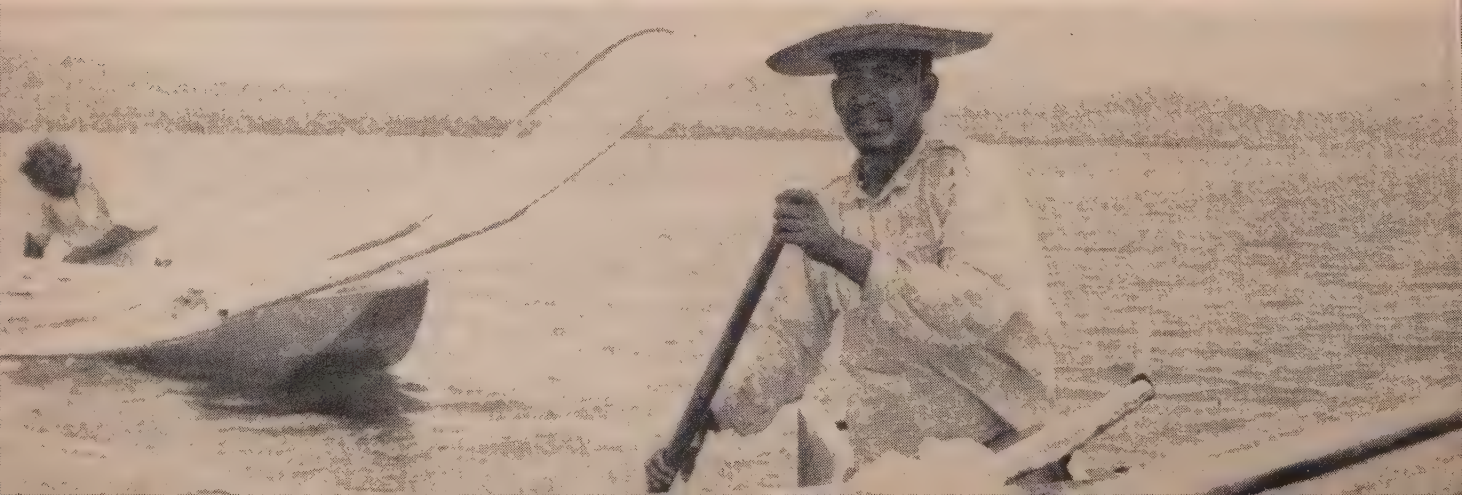
ART OF POTTERY goes back to Aztec and Mayan times, based on Mexico's good clay.

MAGUEY CACTUS supplies Mexicans with food and the fermenting *pulque* from its heart.

*Ewing Galloway*

FISHERMEN on the plateau lake of Patzcuaro use the same kind of nets as their forefathers.

*Harold Grossman*



NOW ILLEGAL is this gambling at Taxco. Only racetrack bets are legal.

*Harold Grossman*

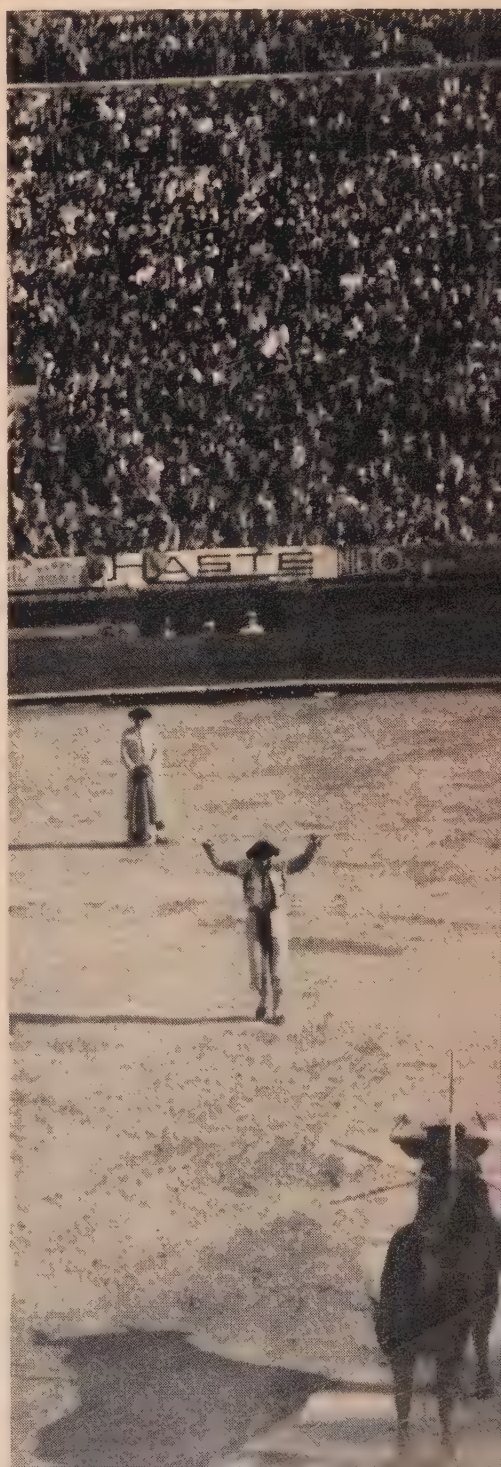
# Work and Play

INDISPENSABLE at the fiestas is the long-winded band, revived by *pulque*.

RESORT of Hollywooders and tourists is Tijuana, across the border.

CANALS around Mexico City are used by tourists and truck gardeners.

*Ewing Galloway*



BULLFIGHTING is Mexico's great national sport, just as it still is Spain's.

*Pan American World Airways*

# A Front On Which We May Serve

By ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

It was once widely believed that such diseases as cancer, poliomyelitis and heart disease attack only the comparatively well-fed and long-lived peoples. The Africans, Asiatics and the Indians of the Americas were regarded as impervious to these scourges. As time has passed, we have learned that our ignorance of the world facts makes almost any conclusion virtually useless at this time.

Certainly diagnosis of poliomyelitis has greatly improved in the US. This may largely account for the rise of diagnosed cases from around 7,000 a year in the 1930s to around 10,000 today. In the underdeveloped areas of the world, doctors have only recently begun to look for these "civilized" diseases. And this must certainly be the explanation for such apparently shocking rises as Algeria's of 400% since the 1930s, of Angola from one case to 15, of Panama from two cases to 33 in 1947, of Yugoslavia from 46 to 171 in 1949. Even healthy Uruguay's polio increased from five cases a year to 128 in 1947.

It can hardly be supposed that the totals of actual cases have multiplied in any such ratio in any of these countries. It seems probable that the cases were always there, though scientists have kept an open mind to the possibility that polio is actually on the increase everywhere. All we actually know is that diagnosis has somewhat improved all over the world, that the doctors are finding cases where they had not previously looked for them, and that we are constantly being shown an enlarging problem of world health.

This universal condition of ignorance came to light in a most touching episode in 1946. An American boy named Jeffrey Kroll was touring Mexico City with a group of 65 schoolmates, when he contracted polio. The Mexican doctors were able to diagnose the disease correctly but that was all they could do. There were no artificial respirators or "iron lungs" in Mexico. This sad news stirred the boy's parents and young friends and his uncle, Brooks Mendell, the well-known US Air Force officer-teacher in self-protection, health education and rehabilitation. Mr. Mendell flew a portable respirator to Mexico but then it was too late. The boy was dead.

Mr. Mendell, whose favorite nephew Jeffrey Kroll had been, thereupon undertook one of those personal crusades which are sometimes so much more effective than formal official programs. He had discovered that Mexico's doctors had a very limited familiarity with polio and no specialists in the treatment of the disease. "The people," he has said, "thought it a disgrace to admit to polio. Anyone who had been crippled by the disease was likely to explain that he had simply fallen off a horse."

A similar shame might be felt and a similar explana-

THE AUTHOR greets Brooks Mendell, of whom she writes here.

tion given in North Africa, in India or Iran or China.

However, Mr. Mendell made Mexico his personal responsibility. The first thing to be done, which he could do, was to get some respirators to Mexico. The Jeffrey Kroll Foundation was formed; a fund was collected from the boy's family and friends; and finally Mr. Mendell bought and delivered two iron lungs to Mexico City in a plane personally provided by Mexico's President Manuel Aleman. Later he followed this up with the gift to Mexico of a library dealing with the history, cause, prevention and treatment of the disease, and the rehabilitation of its victims.

Something about Mr. Mendell's lone-handed efforts

**IRON LUNG with capacity of two children is demonstrated by Mendell to doctors and nurses in Mexico City's Children's Hospital.**

for the welfare of the country where his nephew had died unnecessarily, caught the imagination first of the Mexican press and then of the Mexican people.

He had persuaded the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis in the US to set up fellowships for other countries' scientists and doctors in US universities, hospitals and laboratories. He was empowered to offer several of these to the Mexican Government. Mexico declined the fellowships with thanks, preferring to stand on its own feet. It sent seven scientists to the US to study polio in the country where most of the existing knowledge is concentrated.

Now seriously mobilized, Mexico's statesmen began to conceive that, while the larger nations were preoccupied with the problems of peace, such smaller countries as Mexico might worthily take upon themselves the cause of the improvement of man's health everywhere. Mexico established a subsidized research institute and took the lead in the United Nations to prosecute a truly global health program, which is under way today. Mexico enlarged its own program to embrace the whole field of virus study, including plant and animal diseases.

Virus research is on the agenda of the World Health Organization of the United Nations. WHO's publications have described the world-wide appearance of polio as "the most ominous of unsolved mysteries which the last half-century has posed to epidemiologists."

As if to corroborate this, India last year broke out with its first recognized epidemic of polio, centered in Delhi and Bombay. Like Mexico, India found itself tragically short of iron lungs. Its government promptly cabled WHO a request for iron lungs, rush.

Unharassed by the difficulties that had hampered Mr. Mendell as a private citizen, WHO was able to round up 16 iron lungs in a few days and load them on planes bound for India. There is no doubt that an appreciable number of lives were saved. In at least this one instance, the whole world had put up a united defense to the enemy which attacks simultaneously at a thousand points.

WHO later sent a team of polio specialists to examine the situation in India. It found every indication that India has had polio for at least the past fifty years, that last year's epidemic was by no means an unprecedented phenomenon. It further reported that India has far too few orthopedic surgeons and that physical therapy does not exist in India. Following the example set by the "March of Dimes" in the US to stimulate public attention and fund-raising, India now has its own "March of Annas" (an anna equals a little over a penny).

WHO has asked its member nations whether they would join in an international pool of iron lungs from which any country might draw at the moment it found itself in the grip of an epidemic. The proposal has the heartwarming quality to be found among the neighbors in any village when sickness strikes in a single home and would tend to create one world on the level of the deepest emotion, of help in time of trouble.

Such neighborliness is, furthermore, far from being entirely unselfish. It was shown very clearly in 1946 and 1947 that a polio epidemic cannot be confined within any given national boundaries. In the former year polio took on epidemic proportions in the US, but at the same time it was also raging in such far-spread places as Argentina (525 cases), Puerto Rico (292), Dutch East Indies (198), Iceland (471), Norway (860) and Switzerland (932). The following year it was extended to the UK (8,000 cases), Austria (3,900), Hungary (1,000) and Madagascar (242). But on the island of Car Nicobar, the rate of cases reached the unbelievable high of 8,000 per 100,000 people.

In 1949, the epidemic swept the US total to 42,382 cases. In the same period, Iceland's cases had risen to 579, which is a rate of 494 per 100,000 people, Sweden's to 2,584 and Japan's to 3,133. In the faraway Congo there were 207 cases and on Mauritius 362.

This is a war that is never cold. The governments and the United Nations are best equipped to prosecute the main defense for mankind. But there are certainly many hard-pressed sectors where individuals, like Mr. Mendell, have an opportunity to fight a local action and prepare the way for the main forces. It is fervently to be hoped that we will all dedicate ourselves to searching out a front where we may serve.

THE Mayans arrive in history, no one knows whence, a little before 400 A.D. In 668 A.D. they wandered away from Yucatan for 20 years and then returned. During this second period they produced the magnificent constructions at Chichen-Itza and Uxmal where they threw into the sacred well sacrificial victims, usually specially reared young girls. In 1448 they fled before the conquering Aztecs, southward to Guatemala.

The Aztecs started drifting south at some time around 1000 A.D. Some think they followed the tropical coast and then climbed up on the plateau. Others think they started at a point only a hundred miles or so north of Mexico City. They were in search of the ordained sign of their dwelling place, an eagle holding a snake and perched on a prickly pear cactus (nopal) on a rock. They finally found it at what is now Mexico City, which they named Tenochtitlan, meaning Stone-Cactus Place. These people called themselves Mexica (pronounced Meshica), presumably after the war god, Mexitl. The name Aztec was given by the Spaniards some centuries later. The newcomers engaged in a protracted brawl in the Valley of Mexico with the Acolhua and Tepanec nations and acquired a good deal of their culture*, but their ferocity dismayed their neighbors.

The Aztecs, however, were no backward people. They had a solar calendar with 20 days in the month, phonetic writing, the mathematical sign for zero, aqueducts, dikes and irrigation canals. They created dazzling pictures made of tiny colored hummingbird feathers. They built mightily in stone. They kept horticultural gardens and well-equipped zoos in a scientific spirit far beyond 16th Century Europe. They had no iron, but mined copper and tin, as well as gold and silver. For money they used copper knives, gold dust and cocoa beans. They had developed cotton textiles. They had a good many things their conquerors had never seen: corn, rubber, tobacco, squash, alligator pear, vanilla, chilli, chocolate and tomatoes. The names for the two last are Aztec words.

Allied finally with the Acolhua and Tepanec, the Aztecs ruled an area from Zacatecas, meaning straw, to Guatemala, meaning wood. Mexico City grew to a city of 300,000. Its people waged constant war, less for tribute and slaves, than to obtain masses of prisoners whose hearts were torn out by the priests and offered to the insatiable gods. The fighting was by disciplined military units with a chain of command. The higher ranks wore armor of gold, silver, wood and a thick cotton quilt. Beside bows and javelins, the chief weapon was a club whose head was set with two rows of sharp obsidian flakes. A division numbered 8,000 men and an expedition might consist of several divisions. Under the king was a highly developed feudal society of warrior nobles. They were organized in military orders in which the "princes" wore braided hair, the "eagles" wore eagles' beaks into battle and "tigers" fought in leopard-spotted armor.

Crimes punished by death were thieving, adultery, fraud, witchcraft, removal of landmarks and drunkenness, though the Aztecs' pulque liquor was allowed in moderation to the sick and old.

The Aztecs calculated by grouping dots or circles up to 20, which was shown by a flag. Twenty flags, or 400, was a feather. Twenty feathers, or 8,000, was a purse. For convenience, the symbols were halved or quartered. Thus, 532 was indicated by one feather, a quarter feather, a flag, a half flag and two dots.

The religion of these austere and fatalistic people was as bloody as anything since the world began. Two gods named Two Lord and Two Mistress had four sons, of whom the greatest was Mexitl, usually called Huitzilopochtli, god of the sun and god of war.

From dawn to noon Huitzilopochtli was borne across the sky on the shoulders of the illustrious Aztec dead (dying in sacrifice was as creditable as dying in battle). But the god had to fight his way against the moon and stars. From noon till sunset, he was borne, still fighting, by the rest of the illustrious dead, the women who had died in childbirth. But to fight these daily battles, the sun god needed the constant nourishment of human blood.

Probably the greatest Aztec king was Nezahualcoyotl who lived from 1402 to 1472, dying 47 years before Cortes arrived. He was a great engineer and a codifier of Aztec law. He established a commission of arts and letters which taught young artists and awarded prizes (or punishments for poor work) to musicians, poets, goldsmiths and feather-workers. Whereas Tenochtitlan (now Mexico City) was the military centre of the Aztec confederation, his capital of Texcoco was its cultural centre. He was himself

*The generic Mexican culture was developed in different ways by the Mayans, the Zapotecs of Oaxaca, the Olmecs and Totonacs around Vera Cruz, the Toltecs and Aztecs of central Mexico. The relationships among them are still subject to speculation.

**DESCENDANTS of the ancient Tarascan tribe which managed to hold off the Aztec conquerors until the Spanish conquest.**

*Ewing Galloway*

# A People

*Harold Grossman*

*Pan American World Airways*

MAYAN PYRAMID has flights of stairs by which victims ascended to the sacrifices.

*Watson-Gendreau*

RUINS of Mayan Temple of Warriors are to be seen at Chichen-Itza in Yucatan.

TEMPLE OF QUETZALCOATL, Plumed Serpent, Mexico City, shows snake-heads.

# In Search of Its Past

By DAVID CORT

# In Search of Its Past *continued*

the greatest poet of his time, as can be told by this song:

"Listen with attention to the lamentations which I, the king, Nezahualcoyotl, make upon my power. . . . O restless and striving king, when the time of thy death shall come, thy subjects shall be destroyed and driven forth; they shall sink into dark oblivion. Then in thy hand shall no longer be the power and the rule, but with the creator, the All-Powerful. He who saw the palaces and court of the old king Tezozomoc, how flourishing and powerful was his sway, may see them now dry and withered . . . all that the world offers is illusion and deception. . . ."

Since he prophesied that his people would be enslaved by strangers, he seems to have been also a prophet.

But far beyond both Aztecs and Mayans in time, still other civilized peoples lived and built in Mexico. On the outskirts of Tlalpan is the pyramid of Cuicuilco, wrapped in a flow of lava which must have occurred several thousand years ago, but well after the pyramid was built. This is therefore the oldest civilized structure on the American continent, but it is wrapped in an inscrutable mystery, for of its builders nothing at all is known.

The Spanish conquest in 1520 put out all the lights in the Aztec and Mayan civilizations of Mexico. King Moctezuma, believing Cortes to be the returning white god Quetzalcoatl, urged his people to submit, and was murdered. The last king of Mexico, Cuauhtemoc, defended Mexico City heroically through a long siege. Escaping in a canoe, he was captured and brought before Cortes. Cuauhtemoc invited Cortes to kill him at once. Instead, he was tortured for the secret of the supposed royal treasure. Cortes took him along on the expedition to Honduras, suspected him of a plot and had him hanged, in 1525. What became of his body was a mystery.

With this, the soul of Mexico went underground for 400 years. The great past had died as completely as if buried by the oblivion of 2000 years.

But an irrelevant speculation kept the old traditions from disappearing entirely. For the Catholic Spaniards conceived the odd notion that the Mexicans were either the lost tribes of Israel or the descendants of Naphtuhim, grandson of Noah, who migrated after the building of the tower of Babel. The Spaniards were interested by Biblical research, if not by the past of their subjugated peoples, and so they collected records of the languages, customs and races of Mexico.

Most of the people had forgotten their old kings, their wars and processions and ceremonies. But a few had not. In the town of Ixcateopan, a name shortened from the Aztec for "Here Is Your King," there has always been a little square called the Plaza de Cuauhtemoc. And from generation to generation certain old men passed on to their descendants some papers relating to Cuauhtemoc. One of them was a blank paper with invisible ink writing. It related that the king's body was carried to Ixcateopan, the town where he was born, and buried under the altar of the Asuncion Church. The people of the village have for centuries danced a mourning dance, symbolizing the transport of a body by night, on the date of the King's death, February 26. But for centuries the Indians were agreed that the time had not come to reveal their secret.

The revolution insensibly shifted the orientation of the Mexican people. Mexico began to wonder about its past. Mexican artists, especially Diego Rivera, put the old emperors and ceremonies into their paintings. For the repudiation of Spanish culture had left all the Mexicans, as it had left Diego Rivera, in a spiritual vacuum. Evidently the Mexicans were far from being able to embrace the cold-seeming, mechanistic culture of the Colossus of the North. Only one door was left open: a return to the past, a rediscovery of their hibernating origins. Thus the Mexicans began a process of re-identifying themselves with their lost gods. This tremendous spiritual experience of the past 20 years today possesses the subconscious of every Mexican.

And so last year the old men of Ixcateopan deemed that the time had come. A Mexican archeologist, Dr. Eulalia Guzman, got on the trail and on September 26 uncovered under the Asuncion Church altar what she believed to be the bones of Cuauhtemoc, together with beads of jade, amethyst and metal and a copper disc inscribed "1525."

Some archeologists claimed the bones could not possibly be those of Cuauhtemoc since, for one thing, they included two right legs. The controversy is still raging in Mexico. But as far as can be measured by the joy of the Mexican people, they have found their last king, the hero of Mexico's last stand against the conquerors. The renaissance of Mexico's own culture had reached a climax.

And still, in all Mexico, there is not a single statue of Hernan Cortes.

## *Aztec Calendar Signs*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Cipactli* Crocodile | *Ehecatl* Wind | *Calli* House | *Cuetzpallin* Lizard | *Coatl* Snake |
| *Miquiztli* Death | *Mazatl* Deer | *Tochtli* Rabbit | *Atl* Water | *Itzcuintli* Dog |
| *Ozomatli* Monkey | *Malinalli* Herb | *Acatl* Reed | *Ocelotl* Jaguar | *Cuauhtli* Eagle |
| *Cozcaquauhtli* Vulture | *Ollin* Motion | *Tecpatl* Flint Knife | *Quiauitl* Rain | *Xochitl* Flower |

**(These 20 days, reading in order from left to right, made an Aztec month. Eighteen months plus a five-day unlucky period made 365 days or a year. A cycle was 52 years, and then the counting began again. Instead of leap years, it is supposed that they added an occasional nameless and dateless day at the end of the full year.**

# Businessman's Guide to Mexico

By CESAR ORTIZ

*Chief of News Desk, UN Radio Division*

FOREIGN investors in Mexico are still haunted by the achievements of the revolution, whose reforms, spread over a hundred years, were won by Juárez, Zapata, Obregón and finally Cárdenas. The last brought land distribution, farm cooperatives and the expropriation of foreign oil holdings. Mexico was thus the only Latin American nation to purge itself of feudalism, expressed in a medieval land tenure system. (Non-feudal Uruguay never had the problem and democratic Costa Rica is still dominated by a group of coffee planters.) Mexicans believe that the abolition of feudalism was merely a preparation for true capitalistic development.

But this necessary step cost Mexico a certain amount of misunderstanding even among its friends. This began with the revolution of 1910 which tried to reclaim some of the 90% of Mexico's assets which Tyrant Porfirio Díaz had signed over to foreigners. The Mexican attitude is condensed in the still popular joke about the Mexican showing the sights to a foreigner and explaining each time, "That is owned by the British"—or the Spanish or French or North Americans. "But what do you Mexicans do?" asks the foreigner. "Oh, you see, every 16th of September, we Mexicans mill around in Zocalo Square, wave our flags and shout 'Viva México!' "

The Mexicans waved their flags and shouted "Viva México!" again in 1938 when Cárdenas expropriated the oil. At that time about $150,000,000 in foreign capital fled Mexico.

Mexico tried in vain to explain that under Mexican law the earth of Mexico belongs to the state of Mexico, which may bestow it or withdraw it, as it judges whether the "owner" is using it for the common good of the Mexican people. Furthermore, the products of the subsoil belong absolutely to the nation and may only be lent to individuals for extraction and use.

This may sound Marxist, but it was the basic law of Aztec and Mayan civilizations and became the Crown Law of Their Catholic Majesties, the Kings of Spain. It was violated in the last half of the 19th Century by Díaz, unconstitutionally, as the Mexicans claim. It is the fundamental law again.

The future of Mexico as an industrial democracy is well within the framework of capitalism, but not in the untrammeled tradition of capitalism as the West generally understands it.

A young, smart and educated class of mestizo technicians and bureaucrats is growing up in the new Mexico. When these young people detect the traditional tone of superiority in a North American, they react with some pride. The foreigners who have been successful in Mexico are careful to give voice to their sense of equality and mutual respect.

With this warning, foreigners have a distinct opportunity in Mexico, especially North Americans. For, after the revolutionary tumult has died, the fact remains that Mexico buys 84% of its imports from the US and sells 75% of its exports to the US.

The following are the outstanding fields for investment:

**1) Oil.** Production is at an all-time high: 58,000,000 barrels in 1948. Last year 63 new oil zones were discovered. The rich offshore field at Tortugero is being developed by Edwin Pauley and other independents.

**2) Chemicals.** A group of crack chemists and physicists trained at Mexico City's Polytechnic Institute, has made great strides in commercial and medical chemistry, but needs financial backing.

**3) Textiles.** The industry is traditional to Mexico, craftsmanship is high but machinery is out-dated.

**4) Farm equipment.** Mexico itself manufactures only hand tools and simple equipment. Imports are 90% from the US.

**5) Electrical and household equipment.**

**6) Furniture.** The need is for machines, the fine woods and fine craftsmen being on the spot.

The invitation to foreign capital is hedged by the Law of Conversion Industries which specifies that foreign capital may open up only new industries, i.e., those not competing with established enterprise; also that 51% of the ownership must be Mexican.

US corporations presently operating in Mexico: Electric Bond & Share, Mexican Light and Power, General Motors, Ford, Westinghouse, International Harvester, Anaconda, Guggenheim Brothers, American Metals, Coca-Cola, American Tobacco (manufacturing locally both US and Mexican-type cigarets), Wright Brothers (brass), Tomás Braniff (machinery) and many others.

Mexico's greatest need is machinery of all kinds: machines for oil drilling, building dams, moving earth, for farm and factory and transport, freight cars, locomotives, refrigerator cars.

# A Businessman's Guide

The distribution system is highly inadequate. The usual thing is the village general store run by Spaniards and Frenchmen charging exorbitant prices for consumer goods of poor quality. These peon-traps have taken a body blow since the arrival of Sears, Roebuck in 1947. And Anderson, Clayton is going seriously into the production and distribution of canned foods. The US system of exhibiting goods on open counters is not successful in Mexico where the poor take the "finders keepers" view of anything left out in the open. Machines vending candy and drinks in the US manner are also unsuccessful, offering little more than a challenge to the consumers. But Anderson, Clayton has made a careful study of the preferences and habits of the Mexican consumer and its methods will be watched with attention.

Mexico does not come to the world market with empty hands.

Besides oil, it produces lead, zinc, silver, copper, gold and antimony in important quantities. The output of mercury, arsenic, cadmium, tungsten, molybdenum, manganese and graphite depends largely on whether the world price is favorable. Minerals and metals produced in 1948 were worth $150,000,000. Lately a little uranium has been found in Chihuahua and Oaxaca. US companies own three-quarters of the silver mines and pay a 20% tax on production.

Manufacturing gets full support from the government in high tariffs, tax exemptions and import and export controls. In 1948, the value of manufactured products was $400,000,000. Prices are unusually low in Mexico, because of the low wages of labor. It has been said that the Mexican has worked for five cents a day for the last 200 years, but industrial workers earn from $3 to $30 a week.

The chief manufactured exports are shoes (sold to the US Army during the last war), textiles, glassware, novelties and silver jewelry, the two fine Mexican beers from Monterrey and Veracruz, and tequila.

Mexico's trade in cattle was temporarily ruined by the hoof-and-mouth disease. A Mexican-US Commission decided not to vaccinate the herds but to kill infected animals. The ruined farmer blamed the US personnel for the decision. In reprisal, peasants murdered a good many more US citizens than was ever reported. The epidemic is now under control under widespread and successful vaccination schemes. In non-infected areas, cattle may cross the border freely. The last estimate of the Mexican cattle herds, in 1949, made it 15,000,000.

A Mexican and Guatemalan world monopoly is chicle for chewing gum. US producers mix synthetic gum with the chicle, but Mexico boasts of 100% chicle gum. Adams Gum has a Mexican subsidiary.

The Spaniards first founded, and then for competitive reasons destroyed two Mexican industries: wine and silk. The Mexican vineyards have been replanted at last, but need more time.

An export which Mexico heartily deplores is opium.

## Principal US Exports to Mexico, 1949

| | |
|---|---|
| Animal oils & fats, edible | $4,019,507 |
| Dairy products | 3,537,123 |
| Animal & fish oils & fats, inedible | 1,887,521 |
| Grains & preparations | 21,175,351 |
| Rubber, allied gums & manufactures | 3,395,280 |
| Tobacco & manufactures | 2,305,050 |
| Cotton manufactures | 5,955,621 |
| Synthetic fibers & manufactures | 7,177,004 |
| Paper, related products & manufactures | 6,428,902 |
| Wood manufactures | 2,116,567 |
| Petroleum & products | 28,270,868 |
| Non-metallic minerals | 5,081,120 |
| Clay & products | 4,000,762 |
| Steel mill products | 27,205,034 |
| Iron & steel manufactures | 13,522,162 |
| Electric machinery & apparatus | 29,877,905 |
| Engines, turbines & parts | 14,239,794 |
| Construction conveying machinery | 8,363,129 |
| Mining, well & pumping machinery | 13,542,486 |
| Metal-working machinery | 4,022,172 |
| Textile & shoe machinery | 9,203,527 |
| Industrial machinery | 26,626,672 |
| Agricultural machinery | 6,729,424 |
| Tractors, parts & accessories | 13,093,694 |
| Automobiles, parts & accessories | 49,606,729 |
| Aircraft, parts & accessories | 2,402,840 |
| Other vehicles & parts | 5,467,961 |
| Office appliances | 3,741,850 |
| Pharmaceutical preparations | 14,462,642 |
| Chemical specialties | 12,376,638 |
| Industrial chemicals | 11,167,523 |
| Photo & projection goods | 4,519,768 |

## Principal US Imports from Mexico, 1949

| | |
|---|---|
| Shellfish & products | $16,054,738 |
| Raw hides & skins (except furs) | 1,191,817 |
| Vegetables & preparations | 16,963,317 |
| Fruits & preparations | 8,676,076 |
| Cocoa, coffee & tea | 31,351,368 |
| Vegetable oils & waxes, inedible | 3,726,395 |
| Vegetable fibers & manufactures | 11,541,044 |
| Unmanufactured cotton | 5,327,148 |
| Sawmill products | 8,284,800 |
| Petroleum & products | 16,006,676 |
| Lead & manufactures | 40,498,085 |
| Copper & manufactures | 24,342,201 |
| Zinc & manufactures | 10,969,969 |
| Machinery | 132,843 |
| Industrial chemicals | 576,917 |

## US-Mexican Trade

| | *1948* | *1949* |
|---|---|---|
| US Exports to Mexico | $521,400,000 | $462,400,000 |
| US Imports from Mexico | 246,200,000 | 244,200,000 |

The international narcotics syndicate virtually commandeered an area in southern Sinaloa. This gang-rule led to such anarchy during the war that the Japanese were able to make some headway toward building a submarine base in southern Sinaloa. A Mexican newspaperman disguised himself as a peasant, discovered and exposed the base. In the past the syndicate was rumored to be so strong that it would have taken a formal operation by units of the Mexican Army to dislodge it.

Mexico's cultural exports are of increasing importance. The exiled Republican Spaniards have enormously strengthened the publishing of books which go mainly to the Latin American world. Mexico's movie industry is impressive for a country its size. The four main companies are Tepeyac, Churubusco (financed by RKO and Mexican capital), Clasa and Azteca. Several pictures have done well in the US and European markets, artistically and commercially, and US companies are making increasing use of the splendid Mexican studios.

In July 1947 Mexico restricted imports of certain luxury goods, such as assembled automobiles, radios, refrigerators, furs, fountain pens, cosmetics, perfumes and watches, and since then has extended the list. US importers and exporters can get information on the current status of any particular item from the American Republics Branch, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D.C., or from the Department's field offices.

Anybody going to Mexico on business needs a passport visa, which is acquired free of charge. In addition, he will have to pay a special tax which varies from $3 to $41.50, depending on the nature of his business. Full information on this entrance tax is given in all Mexican consulates. Anybody planning to do business in Mexico should write the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for the publication, "Establishing a Business in Mexico," published by the Department of Commerce in its International Reference Service, Vol. VI, No. 25, May, 1949 (Price: 10c).

The only US bank operating fully in Mexico is the National City. All the others quit when the government in the 1930s required all bank reserves to be in Mexican securities. National City Bank will doubtless cooperate with foreign investors.

North American investors seeking outlets for their capital in Mexico should remember the vast cultural and economic differences between the two countries. Mexico is a country undergoing an important industrial revolution—with a different evaluation of property rights and a progressive evaluation of "social services."

Though the stress seems to be on industrialization, Mexico remains an agricultural country where 80% of the population tills the soil. Her main tragedy, which machines, irrigation and a general expanding economy will solve, is that only about 12% of her soil is arable.

The basic guiding principle to keep in mind is that, as far as Mexico is concerned, the period of "capitalist free-booting" is ended. Mexico, which in the past has seen her natural riches drained by profiteers who had no regard for her laws and her traditions, will accept no return to such an era. Permanent, profitable business relations must be established on the middle-ground of respect for Mexican national sovereignty on the one hand, and the right of a businessman to a reasonable profit for his investment on the other.

The latent friction between businessmen of the US and Mexico has two obvious origins. The first is that Mexico is still in the process of crystallizing its method of doing business. At some point it must convince the world that it has evolved its social and economic system and can write a contract that it will stand behind. The second, and no less important, is that North Americans have not yet understood that Mexico is more "foreign" than France or Turkey. They have made no adequate attempt to know and sympathize with the dynamics of the unique Mexican culture. Mystical though this sounds, the attempt pays off in dollars, as well as in intellectual delight. The US neighbor to the north, Canada, attracts a gigantic percentage of US foreign investment precisely because it is not at all "foreign." If between them the US and Mexico can bridge the "foreignness," they too can live up to the geo-economic realities and weld the bonds of faithful partnership in profitable business.

## *Birds of Mexico*

It was no accident that the most dazzling name the Aztecs could find for their sun god, Huitzilopochtli, meant "Hummingbird Feathers on Left Hand," *huitzilin* meaning humingbird even today to the Indians. Spanish-speaking Mexicans call it *chupamiel* (flower-sucker) and *pajaromosca* (fly bird). There are hundreds of species of infinite brilliance, which never cross the border into the US and can only be seen in US zoos.

Mexico's other extraordinary bird is the crested and long-plumed quetzal, an improbable crimson beneath and an iridescent blue-green above. The Aztecs' god, Quetzalcoatl or Feathered Serpent, was their undoing, for they mistook Conquistador Cortes for Quetzalcoatl. Only the king could wear the plumes of the quetzal. The Mayans went further and simply worshipped the bird as a god. The quetzal is now the national symbol of neighboring Guatemala.

## *Meanings of Mexican Place Names*

**Chapultepec:** grasshopper hill.

**Popocatepetl:** smoking mountain.

**Ixtacihuatl:** white woman.

**Oaxaca:** place of trees.

**Michoacan:** place of fishermen.

**Chihuahua:** (in Aztec) place of women; (in Tarahumara) place of workshops.

**Tlaxcala:** land of bread or corn.

**Jalisco:** sandy ground.

**Yucatan:** a Spanish corruption of the Mayan answer when the Spaniards asked for the name of the place. The Mayans said, "U-yutan?" ("What do they say?")

# Chavez Lights The New Fire

By HERBERT WEINSTOCK

*Author of* Handel, Tchaikowsky, Chopin, *etc.*

LATIN AMERICAN music is all things to all men. To some it is the Indian folk music of Andean fastnesses, the *mestizo* dances and songs of *hacienda, fazenda, rancho,* and *pueblo.* To stay-at-homes and hurried tourists it may be the biting tangos of Buenos Aires, the infinitely complex carnival music of Rio de Janeiro, the Cuban music of Ernesto Lecuona and his imitators, the Mexican popular music—mostly steeped in sentimentality—of Agustín Lara. These are but a few of the hundreds of mental images that the phrase "the music of Latin America" may summon up. When the discussion is of music seriously composed for concert performance, however, the phrase means most often the works of two exceedingly living men, Brazil's Heitor Villa-Lobos and Mexico's Carlos Chávez. At sixty-nine and fifty-one respectively the two men are as different, as dynamically opposite in character, as their native countries.

Villa-Lobos as a composer is tropically fecund, so lavish in production as to give often the impression of dashing off instant improvisations. His enormous mass of published, performed, and recorded works is consequently of the most varied nature and the widest range of quality. In this he startlingly resembles Brazil itself. Chávez, on the other hand, native to the harsh uplands of Mexico, is pre-eminently a craftsman, by no means prolix, and remarkably uniform in quality. The differences between the Brazilian and the Mexican are myriad; their resemblance ends in their pre-eminence as composers and in the fact that both have been conductors, pianists, educators, propagandists, and ambassadors extraordinary to the world as well as creative musicians.

Today Carlos Chávez holds the most important official position in the life of Mexican art. He is the equivalent of a minister of fine arts, the legal reading of his title being Director-General of the Institute of Fine Arts and Literature. In this post he deals with music, painting, the dance, sculpture, literature, and several other arts as they are sponsored, disseminated, and taught by the Mexican government. He has charge of Mexico City's huge Palace of Fine Arts, which he has remodeled inside, installing folk art and fine art galleries, the latter equipped to mount so huge and magnificent a display of Mexican creativeness as the historical exposition of Diego Rivera still hanging there. Chávez's activities have been various and fruitful. The road by which he reached his present position went up mountains and down valleys, and was interesting all the way.

Carlos Chávez Ramírez was born near Mexico City on June 13, 1899, the seventh child of Augustín Chávez and Juvencia Ramírez de Chávez. At an early age he was taking elementary piano lessons from his brother Manuel. As he grew into adolescence he continued to perfect his pianism, studying with the late Manuel M. Ponce and Pedro Luis Ogazón. The importance of his teachers, beyond the purely technical facility they helped him acquire, was double; Ponce interested him in Mexican (particularly *mestizo*) music and Ogazón led him to the best in the musical literature of the past. Chávez began to compose early, and in the midst of the Mexican Revolution (in which he was too young to take an active part) he completed his First Symphony (1918). From 1918 to 1921 he composed constantly works for piano, voice, instrumental ensembles, and orchestra which are imitative, tentative, pseudo-European, and rightly classified as juvenilia. The earliest of his surviving compositions to speak clearly in his own voice, the First String Quartet (1921) promises almost everything that he has since created, but promises it in a manner and style not yet completely achieved or delimited.

The year 1921 was possibly the most important in forming the subsequent career of Carlos Chávez. It was then that he moved into the orbit of José Vasconcelos, Secretary of Public Education, the prime instigator of the artistic renaissance supported by the Mexican government and best known to the outside world through the mural paintings of Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and the late José Clemente Orozco. Vasconcelos commissioned Chávez to compose an Aztec ballet, the music of which now heads Chávez's own list of his mature works. This was *El Fuego Nuevo* (1921). In it Chávez indicated the uses he would make of Mexican Indian music: that its rhythmic insistences and emotional starkness would become elements of his own style, but that he was unlikely to spend much time or effort in crushing actual Indian music into formless rhapsodies or potpourris. *El Fuego Nuevo*, "modern" in texture and harmony, highly personal in manner, and unmistakably Mexican, was a far cry indeed from the sentimental military band suites of semi-popular cast that had been known previously as Mexican music.

In 1922 Chávez married Otilia Ortiz, the very intelligent and excellent wife by whom he has had three children, Augustín, Anita, and Juanita. In that same year he visited Europe for the first time, remaining into 1923 and returning to America convinced that Mexican and other American composers must work out their salvation by creating really native music under really native circumstances. He also became familiar with the United States—he lived for some time in New York—where he most admired the technical excellence of musical recording and broadcasting and the pliability and superb finish of the great symphony orchestras. From 1921 to 1928, too, he continued to compose in what might be called his "most Mexican" manner: chamber music, songs, piano pieces, and two more ballets, *Los Cuatro Soles* (1926) and the most famous of his theatrical works, the "ballet-symphony" *H. P.* (Horse-Power, 1926-7). *H. P.*, built on the dramatic contrast between the vegetable and animal richness of the Latin American tropics and the machine civilization of the United States, was spectacularly mounted with costumes and scenery by Diego Rivera, at Philadelphia's Metropolitan Opera House, under the leadership of Leopold Stokowski.

In July 1928 Mexico City had no permanent symphony orchestra. At that point Chávez accepted the conductorship of a group of musicians from the Mexico City Musicians' Union. It was a group poorly trained and of most unstable abilities. Throwing himself with all his electric energy into the task of building it into a major orchestra, Chávez slowly transformed it into the Orquesta Sinfónica de México, which he conducted for twenty-one consecutive years, and which became an instrument of the highest quality. He resigned its directorship, thus bringing about its dissolution, in 1948. During more than two decades the OSM was Mexico's foremost musical organization. It brought to Mexican audiences of many sorts the standard repertoire of classic and romantic orchestral music, introduced the music of the twentieth century, and insisted on the music of Mexican composers including Chávez himself, the late Silvestre Revueltas, Manual M. Ponce, and a group of younger men. It toured Mexico, often bringing remote cities and towns their first actual experience of a symphony orchestra. It broadcast, it gave concerts for children and for labor union groups. It made phonograph records. It was a success artistically and educationally.

Chávez's decision to abandon the OSM was brought about by a deeply felt necessity to husband his time and resources of energy. At various times between 1928 and 1948 he had served as Director of the National Conservatory of Music, Chief of the Department of Fine Arts of the Secretariat of Public Education, and guest conductor of almost every major symphony orchestra in the United States. The Institute of Fine Arts and Literature was, he felt, the only administrative position he could continue to hold if he was to devote as much time as he wished to composing, re-perfecting his pianistic technique, and guest-conducting in Mexico, the US, and Europe.

### *The Artist Masters His Idiom*

Meanwhile the list of Chávez's compositions has continued to lengthen, but only at the tempo dictated by his perfectionism. He works with complete concentration at whatever task is in hand, and his music is the result of long gestation and the most elaborately careful workmanship. The smaller works are numerous; the larger ones include most notably the *Sinfonía de Antígona* (1933), the *Sinfonía India* (1935-9, completed in New York, and one of the few compositions in which Chávez quotes actual Indian music extensively), the Concerto for Four Horns and Orchestra (1937-8), the Concerto for Piano and Orchestra (1938-40), and the still-incomplete Concerto for Violin and Orchestra. Now the Chávez style is mature and unmistakable, an idiom of the greatest rhythmic force and variety, of a truly Mexican harmonic astringency, of solid architectural forms. As compared immediately, let us say, with the music of Villa-Lobos, Chávez's seems stubborn, gnomic, difficult. It demands—and fully repays—the listener's concentration and cooperation.

At fifty-one Carlos Chávez divides his time between Mexico City (where he has a home in the Lomas de Chapultepec, with an awesome view over Mexico City toward Ixtaccíhuatl and Popocatépetl), Acapulco (where he has a seaside house conducive to the concentrated labor of composing), trips to the United States, and forays to France and Italy. He has worked out a schedule, that is, into which he is able to fit all of his activities. Vigorous, optimistic, charged as always with apparently unbounded energy, he is a stimulating and kinetic personality. Being one of his extremely numerous friends, I can also say that he brings to the best aspects of human intercourse the same energy, intelligence, concentration, and basic warmth that have made him the first musician of Mexico, one of the first musicians of America, and an honored citizen of the worldwide republic of the arts.

# My Favorite Mexican Character

By DAVID DODGE

*Author of "How Green Was My Father"*

His name was Dionisio. I have to say "was" because I'm not sure if he's still alive, but I hope so. He's the only man I ever knew who could legitimately look on his own existence as a bigger practical joke with each year he survived.

He had a little vineyard near Fresno in central California. Legally he didn't belong there, because the only formality he had observed when he emigrated from Mexico was to lift the bottom strand of a barbwire fence guarding the border near Mexicali so it wouldn't snag his only pair of pants, but although all his neighbors knew he was a wetback, nobody mentioned it to the law. He bothered nobody and paid thumping income taxes to his adopted country. I met him because of the income taxes.

I was in the tax racket at the time, working for a firm of public accountants that had a branch office in Fresno. When Dionisio wandered into the office one morning with a sheaf of tax blanks in his hand and a worried look on his wrinkled face, I got him because I could talk enough Spanish to figure out what he wanted, which was expert advice about the amount he ought to pay Uncle Sam on March fifteenth. From his appearance I thought twenty-five cents would be close enough. He looked about sixty years old (I learned in time that he was eighty-three), wore an old brown coverall and a pair of worn-out tennis shoes, and had one good eye. The other one was closed by a scar which, he explained right away, he got from some *bandidos* who tried to rob him one night before he learned to sleep in a wheelbarrow that he moved around his vineyard from night to night. When I asked him what it was he had that would interest *bandidos*, he pulled out a list of figures that added up to something over two hundred thousand dollars. That was his annual income, and the big joke.

He laughed so hard when he told me about it that the tears blinded his good eye and he had to stop to wipe them away. He had been fifty years old when he immigrated under the barbwire fence. Starting without a *peso*, he had earned enough money during the grape harvest

to lease a few acres of vines and go into business for himself. He lived as frugally there as he had in Mexico, did all his own work, picked his own grapes, and plowed the profits back into more acreage until he had a piece of property which gave him all the wine he wanted, the two or three hundred dollars a year he needed to keep him in *frijoles* and tobacco, and a couple of thousand dollars extra. The couple of thousand extra he kept in a tin box until the *bandidos* made their try, and then he opened a bank account.

"Ho, Ho, Ho, Ho," said Dionisio, wiping his eye. "I think I will die laughing if I do not remember the angel in a dream who promise me I will live to have a hundred years. This man comes to sell me a life insurance, but when he sees me he thinks this old greaser, he is not going to live more than five minutes, my company will have to pay right away, let me think hard." Dionisio pantomimed the insurance man thinking hard. "He wants my money, but he does not want to sell me the life insurance because he thinks I will die right away. So he says Dionisio, *buen amigo mio*, I have a wonderful idea, to protect your old age. I will sell you a wonderful ananou—I cannot pronounce it."

I said, "Annuity?"

"Yes. Annuity. It is like an insurance only backwards. With the insurance he pays me when I die, but with the annuity he pays me while I live, so much a year. He thinks I will die quick, a big piece of business for him, oh, ho ho ho ho, excuse me, that was twenty years ago—he comes back each year—"

Dionisio had to stop to wipe his eye again. Between explosions of laughter I got the rest of the story out of him, although I could see the inevitable end without his help.

The insurance salesman had out-smarted himself. Dionisio had looked like a bad insurance risk but a bad insurance risk is a good annuity risk because when the customer dies the payments to him stop instead of beginning. The insurance man had taken over Dionisio's bank account in exchange for a promise to pay him so much a year for the rest of his life, then gone away secure in his faith that actuarial tables, life expectancies and the law of averages would make his company money.

Other salesmen representing other companies followed him in the same error as the years rolled by. Dionisio was too good a thing to keep secret. Not only did his vineyard go on returning him two or three thousand dollars a year more than he could spend but his annuity—later a flock of them—began to pay off. He had no family, no interest but his vines, and like all good Mexicans, was a gambler at heart. Gambling his life expectancy against hard cash appealed to him. Each year when the insurance salesmen came back for a last visit before he tottered off to his grave, Dionisio plowed his accumulated earnings back into more annuities. His yearly take snowballed enormously. I don't know what the average male life expectancy is at eighty-three, but it must be pretty short. When he reached that age the annual payments of each new annuity he bought, because they were calculated on average life expectancies, grew progressively larger in proportion to the investment. And every dime went back to earn more dimes, along with most of the earnings of the vineyard, year after year, each turnover returning more than the last. As Dionisio put it, Ho ho ho ho, I think I will die laughing.

Of course nobody was hurt as long as the simple Mexican continued to reinvest his gravy. The insurance companies merely took back what they paid him each year and gave him a new piece of paper promising him additional payments next year, for which they would sell him another new piece of paper. And so on. His annual income was creeping close to the quarter million mark, but he had to die eventually. Everybody was happy until he backfired.

It happened when he became interested in the Four-H club, an agricultural organization which helps promising young farmers to make their way. With nobody in the world to benefit by his death except the insurance companies, unless he did something while he lived, he decided to turn over to the Club all of his income except what he needed for taxes, frijoles and tobacco. No more annuities. This bombshell he unloaded on the insurance men when they showed up for their annual interview. Later one of them came to see me, because I had known Dionisio for two years by then and he had come to look on me as a kind of business agent to whom he could refer all pests except nematodes and phylloxera. The insurance man smoked too much while we talked and kept wiping his hands.

"Can't you talk the old greas—your client into changing his mind?" he asked me anxiously. "He's into my company alone for over sixty thousand a year. If I can't get him to reinvest it my boss will skin me alive."

"It's none of my business."

"I know. I know. But maybe he'll listen to you."

The salesman spent nearly an hour trying to protect his company's interests before he gave up. As he was leaving I said, "He has to die sooner or later, and then your troubles will be over."

"Oh, sure. In the meantime, sixty thousand a year. Did he tell you about his visitation?"

"You mean the angel that promised him he would live to be a hundred?"

"At *least* a hundred." The salesman looked white and shaken. "That was what the angel said. At *least* a hundred. There was no maximum. A minimum of fifteen years."

He wiped his hands again and went away, multiplying fifteen by sixty thousand in his head.

Shortly afterward I quit the income tax racket for other and less arduous if not more interesting, fields of endeavor, and I never heard further news of Dionisio. But his fifteeen-year guaranteed minimum hasn't expired yet, so he is undoubtedly still enjoying his joke and still supporting the future farmers of the Four-H club with the proceeds. I'm not sure what the club's four H's are intended to represent—something like Home, Heart, Hearth, Happiness, I believe, although Horses and Harvest ought to enter in somewhere. But, to me, they will always stand for Dionisio's happy shout: Ho Ho Ho Ho. I think I will die laughing!

# The Great Mexican Novel

By PHILIP AND ALICE RAINE

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EACH year a goodly number of novels appear in Mexico; prizes such as the Lanz-Duret, the Spring Festival, and the most valued, the National Prize of Arts and Sciences, are offered as a stimulus to Mexican writers, and yet it cannot be said that the novel is a literary forte of the country. This fact, let it be said, is not peculiar to Mexico, but rather is common to all the Latin American countries and many cities have tried to explain it in varying ways. Antonio Castro Leal, one of Mexico's best critics, now his country's representative at UNESCO in Paris, feels that it is because the deep emotional and passionate quality in most Latin American writers turns them in on themselves making it difficult to project themselves into the characters they create. For this reason, he says, the Latin American is generally a far better poet than a novelist. The fact that the only Latin American to receive a Nobel prize for literature, the Chilean Gabriela Mistral, is a poetess, bears him out. Certainly, in Mexico, poets enjoy the respect of their countrymen as much if not more than novelists.

Yet with all this, Mexico has produced a number of excellent novels, works that deserve to rank with the best of the world's literature. These novels invariably have concerned themselves with the native scene. *El Aguila y la Serpiente* by Martin Luis Guzman is the classic novel of the revolution from the point of view of its leaders; *El Indio* by Gregorio Lopez y Fuentes is a beautifully written and sharply depicted story of the Mexican Indian who has made such a profound contribution to the unique culture that is slowly but certainly developing in Mexico and which will enrich, even more than it already has, the world's cultural fund; and there are others by José Ruben Romero, José Revueltas, Agustín Yáñez, Luis Spota (from whom we may expect much in the future) and Jesús Goytortúa, which rank not far behind these great.

It is worth observing that most of the favorite novels of Mexicans were written decades ago, at the end of a sharply defined period in Mexican history and the beginning of a new epoch which might almost be called the beginning of a new civilization. This dividing point was the beginning of the Mexican Revolution in 1910, when the old order tumbled and a new beginning in Mexican life was made.

All these novels and novelists are highly esteemed, yet none holds the position in Mexican hearts and minds as does that novel of the revolution, written not from the point of view of its leaders, but from that of the ragged, downtrodden, oppressed Mexican who fought it, hoping to find salvation through it, *Los de Abajo*. As much as one may talk about the Mexican novel, balancing one against the other, their weaknesses, their strong points, that title seems to be off in the background, without hurrying you, as if it knew that no matter how far you search you will return to it: *Los de Abajo* by Mariano Azuela.

*Los de Abajo* was first published in El Paso, Texas, in 1916 in one of those little revolutionary newspapers which were born and died so frequently during those years. Not till 1924 did it really become well-known in Mexico, mainly through the efforts of Francisco Monterde, the present Director of the Summer School of the National University. It was first published in English in the United States in 1929 by Brentano as *The Underdogs*, and has been translated into many languages, notably French, English, Czech, Yugoslav, and Portuguese. Just a few days ago in fact the author received a royalty statement from his Swedish publisher. *Los de Abajo* is *THE* novel of the Revolution. Other novels before and after have told of the great struggle that Mexico went through but none in the way Azuela has described it. Unlike any other, it gives the taste, the feel, the smell of those cruel and cataclysmic years.

The author, Mariano Azuela, a respected physician who retired from professional practice five years ago, recently received from the hands of President Alemán the coveted National Prize of Arts and Sciences, 34 years after *Los de Abajo* was first published. Living in an oldfashioned house in a formerly fashionable section of Mexico City, surrounded by his children—nine of them—and his grandchildren—thirty-three—he seemed pleased to hear again that *Los de Abajo* is still the choice Mexican novel to many people, even though he said that his age had brought him to that stage "where one feels neither heat nor cold." The walls of his small study are covered with books, all bound by himself, and his window looks out into a patio where purple bougainvillea and white oleander form a brilliant background for the red-veined leaves of a poinsettia bush. Now in his seventy-seventh year, he is busy at work on lectures which he gives at the august *Colegio Nacional*, each of which, he says, means more work to him than a novel. But, as with the best and most popular contemporary Mexican authors, novel writing alone can never provide a living. Dr. Azuela would not venture a guess how many copies *Los de Abajo* may have sold through the years.

Of authorized editions ten alone appeared in Mexico City but this is only a small part of all those sold all over the world of which the author has neither official knowledge nor receives royalties.

As a young medical student he fought among such men as those described in this novel, crossing the harsh Mexican countryside "sometimes walking and sometimes on foot," as he jokingly put it. During those revolutionary years he never participated in any triumphs, only defeats, which explains the feeling of despair which runs through *Los de Abajo*'s pages. All his life, he said, it has been the defeats, the hard and bitter things which have made him want to fight, to go on. So much so that when his later books—and there have been many—were praised, it left him with a feeling of boredom and disinterest, and only those which were damned made him want to go on.

The story of *Los de Abajo* is the story of Demetrio Macias, owner formerly of a small rancho, a few animals, a wife, a son and now a guerrilla leader of twenty men—who dies a general, lying propped against the rocky boulders of his Sierra, his rifle still aiming at the enemy. Right from the first page Azuela's magnificent gift of stark, naked reality springs at you, a talent so often lacking in Latin authors.

Macias has returned for a furtive visit to his home. It is dark in their rancho, their dog barks furiously outside. "The only light in the little room was that of a tallow candle. In a corner were heaped a yoke, a plow, a planting stick, and other farming tools. An old adobe mold, hanging from the ceiling by ropes, served as a bed on which a baby was sleeping covered with coarse cotton cloth and faded rags. . . . At the opposite corner squatted a man eating his scanty meal, an earthenware bowl in his right hand and three rolled tortillas in the other."

Night, the furious barking of the dog, the silent hungry man, the woman whose senses listen into the threatening darkness beyond the adobe walls. The scene is set. The first death, of so many to follow, is that of the dog. A white, woolly, fat dog which means that he was a pet, not one of those hungry curs who live of kicks alone. Yet an unwept death, and as all the others, a cruel, unnecessary death. Its limp body in her arms the woman lashes at the intruders: "What did he owe to you, what food did he take from you, my poor little Pigeon?"

Demetrio Macias sees the flames as his house is burnt. He calls his men together and they count their rifles and you see the cracked soles of their feet onto which they smear the tallow of a candle, and you know the dirtiness of their faces and you can feel their thirst and their hunger which makes them wolf down anything in sight, and you feel their passion for fight and the deep satisfaction at killing the "federals" who are not impersonal enemies but each of whom represents in person the grievances, pain, the hopeless futility of their lives.

Burning, raping, kidnapping, stealing, killing, boasting of it, glorying in the remembrance of each deed and misdeed, they fight the central government, only vaguely conscious of Pancho Villa, Carranza and other leaders. Fighting for the Revolution but impossible for them to put what this means into words, illiterate as they are and close to their own little-large grievances.

Bloodthirsty, cruel, sad, real. Ideals are soon forgotten. Macias's own life when he keeps on fighting after defeat is expressed in the words of a disillusioned young student: "The revolution is the hurricane and the man who delivers himself to it is not a man anymore, he is the unhappy dry leaf, torn from the tree by the winds." The young student of medicine who joins Macias's riff-raff and preaches great words at them, now recognizing what lawlessness and unrestrained power do to a man, leaves disillusioned and asks Macias: "Wouldn't you leave yourself? Why say, for what? What cause do we defend?" And Macias doubtful, confused, not knowing the right words replies while his calloused fingers play with the stolen golden coins: "That is something I cannot explain, but I feel it's something we men don't have anything to do with."

This is an example also of the admirable trait in Azuela's novel that he never falls into the temptation of letting his illiterate peones, *pelados*, rancheros, ex-convicts, break out into the sort of rhetoric which politicians mouth only too often, and with which many authors, whose message is more important to them than their art, fill their pages.

It is just this combination of the Mexican land, revolutionaries, and reality with the Mexican *weltanschauung* which makes *Los de Abajo* Mexico's best and still most controversial novel. Once Macias does not kill two of the "federals" in his power and when his wife berates him he replies in words such as you might hear even today from Mexicans and which underline Mexico's familiarity with death: "Probably their turn to die had not yet come."

## MEXICAN PROVERBS

Edited by JUAN DE LA CABADA

They come to the nopal (the Indian's cactus) only when it bears fruit.

One must use caution, when lying or eating fish.

Everything can be fitted into a small jug, if you know the secret.

The one with the most saliva can swallow the most candy.

Don't waste your fire on little hells.

If they must kill me tomorrow, let them kill me at once.

Whoever is hungry, let him stir the pot.

Said the bald man, when he felt a hair on his head, "Something is something."

The ocean is too small to make me a mouthful of water.

A riddle: Who wants it made is full of weeping;
Who makes it loses naught of sleeping;
Who looks upon it takes no pleasure;
Who sees it not there, finds his measure.

Answer: A coffin.

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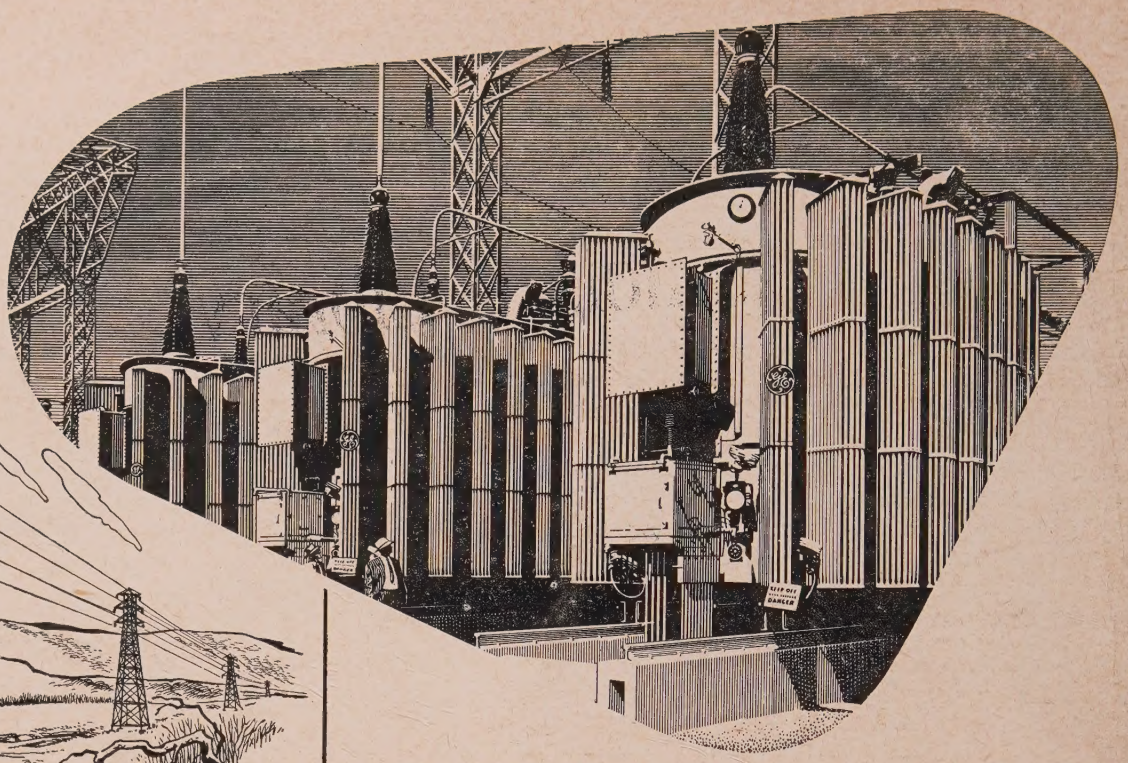

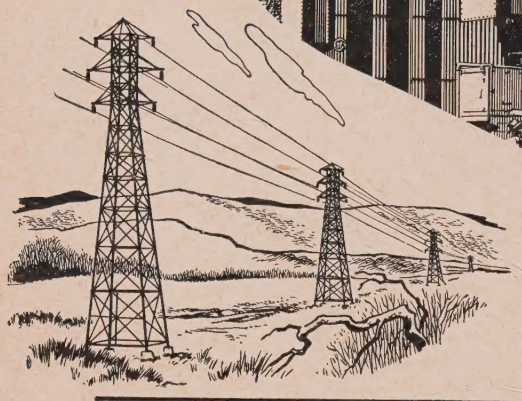

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